A TREATISE PROVING Spirits, Witches, AND Supernatural Operations, BY PREGNANT INSTANCES AND EVIDENCES:

Together with other Things worthy of Note.

By *Meric Casaubon*, D. D.

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TO THE
READER.

CHristian Reader, (*what ever thou art otherwise, thou art not a true Christian, or so good, as thou shouldest be, if thou doest not account that of a* Christian, *thy best title*) *though it doth concern thee, no further, perchance, than I shall tell thee by and by; yet it doth me very much, in thankfulness to God, and to acquit my self of wilful negligence in some particulars of this ensuing Treatise, to acquaint thee with the occasion, and in what condition I was, when I wrote it. I will not go back so far, as to tell thee, what I have suffered, since I have been in the world, by sicknesses, and some other accidents, the*

relation whereof though very true, yet I am ſure, would be incredible *unto many. There may be a time for that, if God pleaſe. It ſhall now ſuffice to tell thee, that about three years ago and ſomewhat better, being in* London, *I was ſeized upon with a cold, and ſhortneſs of breath, which was ſo troubleſome, that I went to an intimate friend, and learned Phyſician, for help, who made no queſtion, but in few days he would cure me, and to that end, preſcribed ſome things. But before many days were over, himſelf ended his life; in whoſe death, good learning (ancient, I mean) had a great loſs. But the comfort is, which I can witneſs, he died a Chriſtian. After him, the cauſe ſtill continuing, I had recourſe unto another, of the ſame profeſsion, whom though I knew not before, yet I found him very friendly, and ſo far as I could judge, very rational in his preſcriptions. But notwithſtanding ſuch help, the diſeaſe increaſing, rather than abating; I at laſt, reſolved, with Gods help, for* Canterbury *again, which I did think many times, I ſhould never ſee more. Where, for eight or nine moneths, I continued much in the ſame caſe; till*

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at last, that disease ended in some nephritical *fits, which I did not expect to out-live. But I did; till* April 1666. *when I was freshly assaulted with new fits; which, more remissly, or sharply, continued some moneths; till at last, divers other evil symptomes concurring, I lost sleep; and so lost it, that for the space of four moneths, and upwards, I may truly, to the best of my knowledge, say, I had not one hour of natural sleep, but such as was, by the advice of my Physicians, procured by Drugs, the strongest that are, to that end: which sleep, so procured, left me always in such a hatred, and detestation of life, that nothing but obligation of conscience could have prevailed with me, or any body else, I think, in my case, to preserve life at so dear a rate. What I was unto others, I know not: I was unto my self, I am sure,* a wonder; (*nay* τέρας, prodigium: a monster; *our old translation*) *that I did hold out so long. And yet, when I did most despair of life; or rather, comfort my self, that the time of my deliverance was now surely come; so it pleased God, I began to recover sleep, and not long after, amended to such a degree of chearfulness,*

that for many weeks after, I did ever and anon doubt, whether I was not in a dream. But finding the continuance of my chearfulneſs, though in much other weakneſs; I think any Chriſtian Reader, if he do not think me worſe than an ordinary Heathen, *or* Infidel; *will eaſily believe, that I had ſome thoughts, how I might employ a life, (ſo much of it, as was yet to come) ſo ſtrangely prolonged, to do* Him *ſome ſervice, whom I looked upon, as the only Author. Firſt, I reſolved (my moſt immediate profeſſion) to preach, as often as I could. And for the firſt time, (being an* Eaſter-day, *a very proper day, after ſuch a reviving) I thought, as to bodily ſtrength, I came off well enough. But when I attempted it a ſecond time, though till the Evening before, I thought my ſelf in very good caſe; yet I found my ſelf ſuddenly ſo diſabled, and brought ſo low again, (which continued for three days) that ſince that time, my opinion hath been, I ſhould but tempt God, to think of any ſuch thing any more. After this, my chearfulneſs, and vigour of ſpirits ſtill continuing, I began to think of* writing; *a trade which I began very young, and of which, I*

thank God for it, I have had comfort at home, and abroad, as much, and more than I did ever promise my self. I did pitch upon a subject, which I did think most convenient for me, as having more immediate relation to devotion, and not unseasonable, in these ungodly times. It was not long, before I had all my materials, out of several papers, and Note-books; *together and ready. But when I thought to put them into a form, by coherence of matter and stile; I found my self so unable, that I did absolutely conclude, I had no other business in this world, and to no other end God had prolonged my life, than by continued earnest repentance (a greater work, I doubt, than many imagine) to fit my self for a better. How I have acquitted my self, I must leave to God. But time passing, moneth after moneth, and I still continuing in as good vigour of mind, I thought, as when at the best; it troubled me not a little, that I should live profitable unto my self only. At last, this subject, once before thought upon, but since forgotten, came into my mind again. I will not be so bold, without better warrant, with God Almighty, to say, that he put it into my head,*

either before, when it first offered it self; or now, when I remembred it. But this I may truly say, since I have been a writer, I never proceeded in any subject, (for the time that was bestowed upon it) with more expedition and alacrity. For it hath been my case, ever since I came out of that languishing extremity, which affected my Spirits most; that my body hath continued very weak, ever since; so that it is but some part of the day, when at best, that I can converse with books; seldom so well, that I can walk, or stand upon my legs: and when once set in my Study to write, or to meditate; it is irksome to me, to rise upon any occasion; and therefore I avoid it, without there be some great necessity: much more tedious and irksome, and not without danger, to reach books, which I cannot reach (a great part of my books) without climbing; nor always find, very readily, though ranged and ordered with care; when I seek them. This is the cause, that my quotations are not always so full, or so punctual, as otherwise, they might have been. But for the truth of them, which I think is the main business, I durst undertake. For though I have many

ny things out of my private Papers, and Note-books, or Adversaria, *which for the reasons before alledged, I could not now revise in the Authors themselves, out of which I had them: yet out of the originals I had them I am sure, and not out of other mens quotations; which I never trusted so far, as to enter them without examination. If, for want of the Originals, I have taken any thing upon trust, I have acquainted the Reader, and so discharged my self. So far, I can undertake; but that in perusing the Original Authors, either formerly, or now again, I have mistaken in none; this I dare not undertake, who confess, that in the reading of one passage, sometimes, once, or twice; when I made no question of the sense; yet in a third reading, I have found (sometimes I say; not very often, perchance) that I was in an error. And if I might advise, I would not have any man take upon him the name of a Scholar, that will trust any quotations, if he may go to the Originals; nor trust any translation, if he can understand the Authors in their own tongue: which if more practised, good books would be in more request.*

That I had ſuch a ſubject in my thoughts, many years ago, may appear by ſomewhat I did write in the Preface *to Doctor* Dee's *book; and then, indeed, I was big with it, had time, and opportunity ſerved. But after that I was once fixed upon other things, or cares, occaſioned by that miraculous revolution of affairs in this Kingdom, which ſoon after hapned; I may ſincerely proteſt, that I never thought of it any more, except ſome chance brought it into my mind; but never as thinking I ſhould ever meddle with it, further than I had done. Not that I ever promiſed any thing, which I had not then, when promiſed, ſome probable hopes, I ſhould; and always ſince, a willingneſs to perform; but becauſe I have been always taken up, ſo far as my health, and other neceſſary occaſions would give me leave, with ſomewhat, that I thought more ſeaſonable or neceſſary.*

And ſo I thought now of this ſubject, as I have handled it. For Credulity, *and* Incredulity, *in general, being my Theme, which left me to a liberty of chuſing fit inſtances, where I would,*

ſo

so that upon them I *might but ground such rules and directions for either, as might be proper to my undertaking;* I *have endeavoured to pitch upon such, as might afford somewhat against the crying evils of these times,* contempt of good learning, *and* Atheism.

And whereas I *mention sometimes* three Parts, *as intended; two only being here exhibited: true it is, that* three *were intended, in case my health had afforded it. But it did not. And indeed,* I *wonder it hath done so much, the little time considered, that hath been bestowed upon it. Yet, is not the work* imperfect, *therefore; which might have been finished in the* First, *but that, as the* Second *hath afforded more* instances, (*and of another kind*) *than are in the* First Part; *so might the* Third *also, than in either* First, *or* Second, *if* I *live to do that also. It cannot be very soon,* I *am sure, because what spare time* I *have from sickness, till this Summer be over, is otherwise destinated. And though* I *am much weaker already, than* I *was, when* I *began; yet whilest* I *live,* I *shall despair of nothing, who have had*

so

so much experience, what God can do, beyond all expectation; or, (in mans judgement) credibility. *Farewel.*

CANTERBURY,
1. June, 1668.

Errata,

ERRATA, with some Additions, *at the end of the Book, which they that read the Book, are desired to be mindful of. To which, let this be* added.

P*Age* 275. *line* 16. I believe, allow it but a hundred thousand spectators, a very small proportion for *Universus Populus Rom.* which we know hath been *censed* (Citizens, inhabitants of *Rome*) at one time, four millions, and above: at another time, six millions, and above: could not therefore, I believe, (yet with submission to better judgments) inclose, or cover less, than fourscore, or a hundred Acres of ground: a thing, nevertheless, scarce *credible*, I doubt, to best *Ingineers*, or *Architects*, later ages have afforded. However, though we may be mistaken, in the casting of particulars; yet that *Pliny* could mistake in his report, or the account he doth give us, of a thing so publick, and yet of fresh memory, when he wrote; no rational man can believe. A man would think, this could not, *&c.*

OF

OF CREDULITY AND INCREDULITY,

In things *Natural*, and *Civil*.

The First Part.

AMONG other errors of our Life, to which that *Caligo mentium*; or, *darkness of our understanding*; by some Ancient wise Heathens, who knew not the true cause, so much wondred at; doth expose us; there's scarce any thing, wherein men either more frequently erre, or with more danger, than in *unadvised belief, or unbelief*.

IN Civil affairs as rash belief hath been, and daily is, the undoing of many; so obstinate *unbelief*, of as many, if not of more. *Credere, & non Credere* (*to believe, and not to believe*;) that Elegant *fabulator*, who lived in *Augustus* his time, and was a Servant of his, (well deserving to be better known unto good Schools, than he is commonly) hath made it the argument of one of his *morals*, shewing by pregnant instances the danger of each; as πίστις, and ἀπιστία, (*belief, and unbelief*) is the argument of two Orations in *Dio Chrysostomus*; whose very sirname, *Chrysostome*, doth testifie, what account the age he lived in, made of his wit, and language.

BUT again; easie *belief* hath contaminated, and obscured the *History of Nature*, with many ridiculous fables and fictions: but *unbelief*, with no less prejudice to *truth*, (which according to *Plato*, most *properly*; nay, *only*, he saith, doth belong unto such *things*) and withal, to mans nature, hath bereav'd it of its more noble function, the contemplation of *things spiritual, and eternal*; not discernable with bodily eyes, but by the light of *faith*, upon *Divine revelation* chiefly: but upon *sound reason* and certain *experience* also. A little *portion* of which knowledge, and contemplation, though but *little*, is even by *Aristotle*, that incomparable *Naturalist*, preferr'd before the most perfect knowledge of nature, that man is capable of: *De part. anim. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5.

FROM ungrounded belief, gross *superstition*, by which true Religion is not a little infected and adulterated, hath proceeded: but, from the contrary, right down *Atheism* (whether openly professed, or palliated, as the fashion is:) by which, all sense of piety, all sense of immortality, being taken away, and nothing left to man, but what is common unto bruits, (since that *reason*, confined to things sensible and perishable, is little better than *sense*; and *sense*, in bruits, is by many deemed,

ed, and called *reason*:) man may truly be said, to be metamorphosed into another creature.

LASTLY, if we appeal unto the Judgments of men; on the one side stands the credit and authority of so many ages, which commend that of *Epicharmus* unto us, (Νᾶφε, καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν· translated by *Cicero*;) *Nervi, atque artus sapientiæ, non temere credere*; that is, *Not easily to trust*, (or, *to believe*) *are the very nerves and sinews of wisdom.* On the other, *Non satis credere, want of faith*, or *belief*; (so *Seneca*, a wise man too, though not so ancient:) *is the original of all misery*: and one of no less credit, and antiquity, (some few years abated) than *Epicharmus*, hath told us long ago, that ἀπιστίη, *infidelity*, or *want of faith*, (his very words, recorded by *Plutarch*; cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*; τῶν θείων τὰ πολλὰ ἀπιστίη διαφυγγάνει μὴ γιγνώσκεσθαι) *is the cause, that God and his works are not better known unto men.*

WHICH contrariety, not of *opinions* only, but of *events* also, upon which those opinions were grounded, and which occasioned that contrariety; makes me think sometimes the better of those ancient Philosophers, who maintained and argued it at large, that nothing could be certain unto men; and that peremptorily to conclude of any thing, as either true, or false, was great rashness, and ignorance; since that of all those things controverted among men, some boldly affirming, and others as peremptorily denying; there was not any thing for which, and against which probable reasons and arguments might not be produced; which might, if not amount to an absolute *æquilibrium* in the ballance, yet induce a rational man, to suspend his assent. To make this good, how far they proceeded, there be Books both Greek and Latine, yet extant, that will shew: which though written by Heathens, and by many, both Heathens, and

Christians opposed; yet have they not wanted some able Champions, even in our age.

BUT since this is not our business here, and that a perfect *Sceptick*, what ever they may pretend in words, is an impossibility in nature, as by more than one, but St. *Augustine* for one, is well observed; we may certainly conclude, that neither to *believe*, or *unbelieve* (in things *Natural*, or *Civil*) is absolutely good, or bad, but as either are guided and regulated, more or less, by reason and discretion: which though they cannot secure any man, the wisest that is, (such is the condition of mortal man upon earth) that he shall never be deceived; yet may secure him, that his error shall not be without comfort, that he was not deceived as a fool, for want of wit and consideration: which is the comfort, that Divine *Hippocrates* doth propose unto them, that miscarry (a thing he thought very possible) in a right course, that they miscarry, κατὰ λόγον, that is, (*according to*, or, *for no want of reason*,) and bids us keep to that still, though again and again crossed, by ill success.

NOW because a well grounded *belief* or *unbelief* (in things *Natural*, or *Civil*, as before) are, for the most part, the effects of much observation, and long experience, which many for want of years, (though supplied in many, by natural pregnancy) have not yet attained unto: that such as have not, may, if they please, reap the benefit of others observation, is one main end and purpose of this present undertaking. And to prevent all mistakes, which our title might occasion, and the Readers may the better be satisfied, what to expect: First, whereas we say, in things *natural*, by *natural*, I do not only understand such things, which apparently have some ground in nature, and whereof a probable reason may be given; which is the more ordinary notion: But also, as by *Trallianus*, an ancient Physician, (not

(not to name others) by some very eminent in that art, once to me much commended; the word is usually taken; as when he distributeth, which he doth in every disease almost, his remedies and receipts, into *methodical*, and *natural*; by *methodical*, understanding, *rational*: that is such, of which, or for which a reason may be given, κατὰ μέθοδον ἐπιστημονικήν, as he speaks in one place: by *natural*, those which are supposed to work by some natural efficacy, though the reason, or true cause be, as yet, secret and unknown. Of which nature, he doth make all *amulets* to be, which therefore he calleth φυσικά, or *naturalia*. Of this notion of the word *natural*, St. *Austin* takes notice, in his *eleventh* book *De Doctrina Christiana*, Chap. the 20. as ordinary in his days. For having spoken of *Ligatures*, and *Characters*, he doth add, *quæ mitiori nomine Physica* (in some Editions, *Physicam*, falsly) *vocant, non quasi superstitione, sed natura prodesse videantur*. If therefore we say somewhat, of such also, we do not extend the notion of the word beyond its bounds. For as *Trallianus*, so other Physicians of his time, and of our time also, as by name, *Sennertus*, do also use the word: *Specifica*, and *Naturalia*, for the same thing. But again, if under the same title, we speak of some things acted, or effected by *spirits*, though the authors, or actors themselves, according to the common opinion, (contradicted by many ancients) as incorporeal and immaterial essences, do not so properly fall within the cognizance of ordinary *nature*; yet their operations upon corporeal essences being effected, and brought to pass, (for the most part at least, as both ancient and late, that have written of these things, are of opinion) by means *natural*, though to us unknown; may very well be termed *natural* in the latitude of the notion before explained: though to us unknown, I say, as who know yet of nature, in comparison of what we do not

know, but very little, as they that have taken moſt pains in the ſtudy of it, acknowledge and lament. Had we added the word *ſupernatural*, in this place, (*natural and ſupernatural*) it might have been too general, and comprehended *miracles* alſo, for which we have a more proper place, under the title of *things Divine*. And the word, *Diabolical*, or *Demoniacal*, ſince there was no need of it, I was willing to forbear.

SECONDLY, I deſire the Reader to take notice, that whereas ſome who have written περὶ πίστεως ϗ ἀπιστίας, (*of belief and unbelief*) have chiefly, under that title, inſiſted upon *truſt*, or *truſting*, between man and man, in point of friendſhip, and ordinary converſation, in contracts and promiſes, *and the like*; I meddle not at all with it in this ſenſe; by *things Civil*, underſtanding only relations, or hiſtories of things done, or pretended to be done by men; to be ſeen, or known in the world, not ordinary, and to all men, *credible*.

AGAIN, *Credulity*, oppos'd to *Incredulity*, may be underſtood two ways, either as a vertue (for ſo the word is taken ſometimes, by Chriſtian writers, eſpecially;) or both *Credulity* (the moſt warrantable and ordinary ſenſe of the word) and *Incredulity* may be taken as two vicious extreams, of what we may call πίστις, in general, taken for a *rational belief*, or, *belief* grounded, either upon ordinary grounds of reaſon, and probability, which begets, *a moral belief*; or upon ſuch pregnant preſſing reaſons, as produce a firm aſſent, anſwerable to certain knowledge, or ſcience, though not ſcience properly, becauſe not grounded upon the knowledge of the cauſes. In either ſenſe, *credulity* taken, will fit our purpoſe well enough: yet of the two, I rather chuſe the ſecond, that *credulity* may be taken for a vice; that ſo, as all, or moſt vertues, according to *Ariſtotle's* doctrine, (though by ſome, upon very light grounds, as

as I conceive, much opposed) we may place this πίστις, or *belief* also in the middle of two vicious extremities. And so is this business of *believing* very well stated by *Plutarch*, in more than one place, and upon several occasions.

LASTLY, whereas my title promiseth the consideration of both equally, *Credulity*, and *Incredulity*; and most of my examples will be found of *Incredulity*, or such as tend to the reproof and confutation of it, I may be thought to have dealt partially, as though I favoured, or less blamed *Credulity*, than the contrary vice. But that doth not follow, neither had I any such respect, in the chusing of my examples. Neither indeed is it absolutely determinable, which of the two, *Credulity*, or *Incredulity*, is most dangerous, or blamable; but as the particular object of either is, so may the one be more or less than the other. But I must confess, the business of *incredulity* did more run in my head at this time, because of the times so set upon *Atheism*, which of all kind of *incredulity*, is the most horrible, and damnable, and most unworthy of a rational man. Now one prime foundation of *Atheism*, as by many ancient, and late, is observed, being the not believing the existence of spiritual essences, whether good, or bad; separate, or united; subordinate to God, as to the supream, and original Cause of all; and by consequent, the denying of supernatural operations; I have, I confess, applied my self, by my examples, which in this case do more than any reasoning; and (the authority of the holy Scriptures laid aside) are almost the only convincing proof; to the confutation of such *incredulity*: in this first part, especially. However, unadvised *credulity* and *incredulity* being considered as two extreams, by the doctrine of contraries, it will follow, that what tends to the illustration, or confutation of the one, doth in some sort

 equally

equally belong unto the other; and though the *examples,* generally, have more reference to the one, than to the other; the *observations,* upon the examples, shall equally concern them both, which is enough to justifie my Title.

NOW because *credulity,* and *incredulity,* doth properly belong unto such things, as are wondred at, either, as besides the ordinary course of nature; and therefore wondred at, because rare and unusual; or against it, and therefore thought impossible, or supernatural; it will not be amiss in the first place, to consider what those things are, considered in their kinds, or generality, which usually cause admiration. As I go along, I may meet with somewhat, that may occasion some consideration: otherwise, I have no intention, but to name them only.

MONSTERS are the most ordinary subject of their admiration, who are not qualified to admire any thing else, though it deserve it, much more. However, they that have, or shall read the History of *Monsters,* written by *Bauhinus,* not to mention others; may think the better of many things, which before perchance, they thought *incredible.* Though he treat of all kind of *Monsters,* yet *Hermaphrodites* only, are in his Title, as the most prodigious, or most considerable. Indeed, many laws have been made about them, and many cases proposed, and answered, both in the *Civil,* and *Canonical* law. I have read also, of trials, processes, and Judgments against, or concerning them, in several Courts, beyond the Seas; and *Pliny* doth record, that in his time, they were *in deliciis,* not for their beauty, and good parts, I suppose, but (such is the perversity of some) for their very monstrosity. And what if after all this, some men will maintain, that there be no such creatures? One great argument will be; they never

saw

saw any. Another, there have been some counterfeits. Upon these grounds, who seeth not, how much the History of Nature may suffer, through the rashness and ignorance of some, who affect to be thought wise; for denying what other men believe, the *Continuator* of *Thuanus* his History will tell, what passed in *Paris*, *Anno Dom.* 1613. about this controversie, if any desire to know.

AFTER *Monsters*, those things I reckon, that happen by natural *sympathies*, and *antipathies*; (though these also, denied by some, who must adventure upon somewhat, that they may be thought some body) and again those things that proceed, from what Physicians call ἰδιοσυγκρασίαι, or ἰδιοσυγκρισίαι; (it is written both ways:) to which *sympathies* may be referr'd, but it extends much further: and again those things that proceed from the strength of *imagination*: concerning all which not only examples and instances, in most books of all arguments, are obvious; but also peculiar books, and tractates, made by learned Physicians and Philosophers, searching into the causes, (though *natural* acknowledged, yet hidden, and secret) so far as the wit of man can reach, are extant: all these, I conceive, to them that search into the works of nature with diligence, offer themselves frequently, as worthy objects of admiration.

ANOTHER great object of *admiration*, is that which they call *occultæ qualitates*; to which some *sympathies* and *antipathies*; as also ἰδιοσυγκρασίαι may be referred; but is much more general, than either. Those *occultæ qualitates* have been stiled by some men, who had the ambition to be accounted more profound, and quick-sighted into the works of nature, than others, *asylum asinorum*; or, *the refuge*, or *sanctuary of Asses*; but, in their attempts and endeavours of rendring of reasons, to maintain *manifest qualities*, they, generally, have acquitted

quitted themselves so weakly, so childishly, as by the discourses and refutations of Physicians, and Philosophers, both ancient and late, generally most approved and known, doth appear; that what they thought to brand others with, hath unhappily, but deservedly stuck to themselves, their reasonings, if not themselves, being become the scorn and *ludibrium* of all truly wise, and judicious. So hitherto, I am sure, according to the old Philosophy. But what the conceited omnipotency of *Atomes*, according to the new Philosophy, (or revived Epicurism) may do, to satisfie all doubts and scruples, I know not. For my part, I shall not be ashamed to acknowledge my weakness: I have looked into it, with as much candor, *and diligence*, as in such a case I thought necessary; *so far from prejudice, that I* would perswade my self, I could not but speed, and find what I sought for: but I have not I profess it; yet with submission, to better judgments.

TO these *occulta qualitates*, we may add, *influxus cœlestes*, or *influentiæ*; to which I find very learned men, Physicians and others, to ascribe strange effects: Yet there be very learned too, that will by no means admit of such: as learned *Pererius* by name, who doth inveigh against them, as the confusion of all sound Philosophy, and in very deed, the true *asylum asinorum*. Yet, if a man consider of it soberly, and read impartially, what is by very sober men pleaded for them; he may find ground enough, (it is my opinion) to believe them: especially, when he doth consider, that *Aristotle* himself was forced, besides his four *Principia*, or *Elementa*, to have recourse to a *quintam essentiam*, (besides that, which he doth appropriate to the Heavens) as a more noble cause: yea to *God* himself, in some things, as the immediate cause, operating above *nature*, above *reason* (humane) by his meer *Omnipotency*. Whereby *Aristotle* doth

doth apparently lay a foundation for *miracles*, as we may shew in due place: whereas some conceited foolish men, pretended Christians, but real Atheists, as *Pomponatius* and the like; because they would not seem to depart from *Aristotle's* doctrine, refer all *miracles* to natural causes. Besides it is well known that *Hippocrates* also, doth acknowledge τὸ Θεῖον in diseases; by which though *Gallen*, and some others understand *ambientem aerem*, only; yet even so then certainly the *aer* preternaturally, or supernaturally affected, by some divine, or celestial cause; which is the more probable, because in other places he doth speak of the *Gods*, (according to the phrase of those days) very reverently, and doth much ascribe to their power, in those things that happen unto men.

BUT to our *Cœlestes influxus*: though they be granted, yet it is very possible, that many things may be ascribed unto them, which may proceed from other causes. That some men are lucky at Cards, beyond all imagination, or do feats with them, beyond the limits of any supposed activity, or jugling, such as learned *Raguseius* doth profess in the presence of some others, men of great worth and fame, whom he doth name (*Hieron. Fabritius, ab Aquapendente*: *Hercules Saxonia, &c.*) to have seen, and admired; I should not, though never so much admired, or *incredible*, ascribe to a *Celestial influence*, though I find a very good Author, whom I ever look'd upon as a second *Aristotle*, (the greatest commendation, I think, that can be given to man, Religion laid aside) in point of sound and solid reasoning; even *Thomas Aquinas*, cited for it, by the same learned Author: whose opinion, in that matter, I much sooner embrace, that such things are done by contract with the Devil. And yet I have ground to believe, that so much may be done in this kind, by art and cunning; (which

quitted themselves so weakly, so childishly, as by the discourses and refutations of Physicians, and Philosophers, both ancient and late, generally most approved and known, doth appear; that what they thought to brand others with, hath unhappily, but deservedly stuck to themselves, their reasonings, if not themselves, being become the scorn and *ludibrium* of all truly wise, and judicious. So hitherto, I am sure, according to the old Philosophy. But what the conceited omnipotency of *Atomes*, according to the new Philosophy, (or revived Epicurism) may do, to satisfie all doubts and scruples, I know not. For my part, I shall not be ashamed to acknowledge my weakness: I have looked into it, with as much candor, and diligence, as in such a case I thought necessary; so far from prejudice, that I would perswade my self, I could not but speed, and find what I sought for: but I have not I profess it; yet with submission, to better judgments.

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(which things are commonly referred to the power of *use and custom*, which will be our next consideration, after this of *influxes*) so strange and miraculous, in appearance, that a man had need to be very well vers'd in such speculations, before he charge any man. And that is, when the case is so notorious, as no man can rationally doubt; as in that pretended Jugler, who (related by divers) before *Charles* the Ninth, King of *France*, made the Rings of a gold Chain, *to leap towards him one after another*, who was at a distance; and after that, made the Chain whole again: which, at last, himself confessed to have done by the help of the Devil; for which he was deservedly cast out of the Court, and punished. Learned *Vossius* hath it too, and quotes three Authors for it, but those three, have it but from one, which kind of quoting is not so safe, except this very thing add some weight, because it hath been believed by such, and such, and not contradicted by any. But, in a case of this nature, before such company, and yet of fresh memory, when the first relation was made; the testimony of one credible witness, may be thought sufficient. But for *Pererius*, why he should be so bitter against *Celestial influences*, since he also doth grant, and ground upon *occult qualities*, which often are fetched from *Celestial influences*, and liable to the same inconveniencies, and therefore by some, as was said before, who would gladly be thought to see further than other men, so termed, (*asylum asinorum*) I see no reason.

BUT granting these *influences*, the great question doth remain, whether they work, *as general* only, or as *particular causes* also. It is the opinion of some very learned, that their power, and operation doth extend even to particulars: as for example, to dispose and to incline (not compel) a man, to such and such actions: but of more, that they work only, as *general causes*: as for

for example, why in ſome ages, men generally have been more inclinable to *ſuperſtition*, ready to believe, and to ſwallow more, than the boldeſt impoſtor could invent: in others, more to Atheiſm and *incredulity*, all upon the ſenſes, and what is viſible and palpable, though againſt all ſenſe and reaſon. In ſome, more for ſtrifes, and contention; in others, more for peace, and calmer ſtudies. And what ſhall we ſay to that *influence*, that produced in men that frantick humor, the beginning whereof is aſcribed by Hiſtorians, to the year of the Lord 1260. of wandring about, half naked, and whipping themſelves unto bloud? Which though ſuppreſſed by authority for a while, ſprung up again ſome forty, or fifty years after, with ſo much advantage, that moſt Kingdoms in *Europe*, were over-run with it; and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Popes, by their excommunications, and other means that were uſed, continued above 100. years after; as doth appear by a peculiar tractate of *Gerſon*, the learned Chancellor of *France*, ſet out *Anno Dom.* 1460. againſt it. Thouſands in one company, of all kind of people, might have been ſeen in divers places, thus martyrizing their bodies, by tearing their fleſh, and their bloud running; a pitiful ſight, in outward appearance, but whether to the greater pleaſure of their diſtemper'd minds, or pain of body, I know not. I have ſpoken of it, elſewhere, which I ſhall not here repeat. I quote no Authors: there are ſo many Hiſtoriographers, beſides others, that take notice of it, I think it needleſs. If I may ſpeak my mind without offence, this prodigious propenſity to *innovation* in all kind, but in matters of learning particularly, which ſo many upon no ground, that I can ſee, on appearance of reaſon are poſſeſſed with; I know not what we ſhould more probably aſcribe it unto, than to ſome ſad conſtellation, or influence. But to conclude this matter or

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of *influences*, whether of *general*, only; or, of *particular* efficacy also; it is agreed on all hands, that they are secrets of *Nature*, or of *Heaven*, if you will; which none will, upon pretence of any art, attempt to dive unto, but upon a presumption, that the world (as of wicked men in general, some Philosophers have maintained) cannot subsist without cheaters and impostors.

ANOTHER great cause of wondring, is the power of *use and custom*: which they, who either by the report of others, creditable witnesses; or by their own experience, have not been acquainted with, and well considered of, must needs ascribe to magick, and supernatural causes many things, which are meerly natural. It is a subject of a large extent, but of excellent use, in divers respects: which made some ancient Fathers, (not to mention other Authors, of all professions) upon divers occasions so largely to insist upon it, as they do sometimes. St. *Chrysostom* saith plainly, that there is not any thing of greater power, and which produceth stranger effects, among men: the consideration whereof he doth make excellent use of, in matters of life and religion: which is the reason, that he doth insist upon it so often. Among others, one great use is, to discern some actions, which have been admired, and through ignorance, thought miraculous and supernatural; from supernatural and miraculous indeed: the discerning of which, of what moment it hath been, in Civil affairs, sometimes; and sometimes religious; many pregnant examples might be produced. Another great use the ancient Fathers make of this speculation, is to convince the sluggishness of men, in the pursuit of Heaven, who flatter, or rather fool themselves with a conceit of impossibility of performing what is required, and without which no Heaven can be attained; when they see or may see, such visible examples of far greater performances

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for a less reward, God knows, by constant endeavours, and resolution. It is possible, the Reader may light upon a book, tituled, *A Treatise of Use and Custom.* It is not in the Title, but might have been added (as here) *in things Natural, Civil, and Divine.* That which gave occasion to it, (for I must own it as mine, though set out, without my name) was: I was at that time much troubled, and as I thought injured, by what, in the law of this Realm, goes under the name of *Custom*; to me, before, little known: and as the business run often in my mind, (riding especially, when I had nothing else to busie my thoughts) it brought in time many things into my mind, which I had read, and observed, concerning *custom*, in general; till at last it came to this, that was printed. I needed not have owned it, some may think; and better so, perchance: yet the thanks I have had for it, from some, to whose judgment I could not but ascribe much, because I knew them very conversant in the study of Nature, whereof also they have given good proof to the publick: hath made me to adventure upon this acknowledgment. However, were it now to be reprinted, (such is the largeness of the subject) it might be fitted for publick use much more, than ever it was. Now those things that are atchieved by Art and Study, though they may seem not so properly *Natural*, in that sense we take *natural* here; yet as they are referred to the power of *use and custom* (a great mystery of Nature, in our sense, and the subject of much *admiration*, as that Treatise will shew them, who desire further satisfaction about it) so, they properly belong to this account.

I MAY not, in this survey of several heads, which usually cause *admiration* (I observe no order, but take them as they offer themselves) I may not, I say, omit the wonders of *Chymistry*: by some so much doted upon,

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(right Mountebancks, and cheaters in this) that they would refer all *mysteries* and miracles, even of Religion unto it; and to that end, fetch the pedegree of it from God himself, in his holy word, (much profaned and abused by their ridiculous, senseless applications, and interpretations: wherein, I think, one *Robert Flud*, of this Country, worthily for it chastised by *Gassendus*, hath exceeded, even to the height of blasphemy; all that I have read or heard of) and after him, from *Adam*, from *Solomon*, by sundry fabulous forged writings: and whom not? *Trithemius*, that learned Abbot, and a great pretender to Mysteries himself, whose inventions have troubled so many heads, to so little purpose hitherto; his judgment of it is, that *parum in se continet, prater verba, fraudes, vanitatem, dolositatem*, and the like; which he would have the necessary attendants on it. What made him so angry with it, I know not. For my part, I am bound to speak of the art it self, lawfully used, as by most learned Physicians at this day, with all respect and gratitude, as owing my life, under God, to it. For when (it may do some others good perchance, to know it) I was a young *Student* in *Christ-Church Colledge*, in *Oxford*, in a grievous sicknes (it was thought, the Small Pox had struck in) I had two Physicians, whereof, the worthy Professor, Dr. *Cleyton* was one, the other, a young man, of St. *Magdalens*-Hall, or Colledge, as I remember; by the appointment of my then Tutor, Dr. *Meetkerke*, since that, Hebrew Professor in *Oxford*; and afterwards one of the Prebends of *Winchester*, of ever dear and honoured memory to me. But my disease so prevailed, it seems, that after a fortnight, or thereabouts, having been prayed for in the Church once or twice: at last both my Physicians came to my *Tutor*, and told him they had done what could be done by art: there was no hope left, but in Gods great power,

power, if he thought fitting: otherwise I had not many hours to live. Having thus taken their leaves, and left him very sorrowful; about one hour after (this is the account I had from him, by word of mouth, and under his hand too) the younger Physician came to him again, confirms to him what they had said before, when together; but withal, made a motion, if he thought fit, as in a desperate case, to try some means, which possibly might do more than could be expected, by ordinary ways. At the worst, I could die, but two or three hours before my time. The *Doctor* was at a stand; asked whether he might not send to my friends, before, to *London*; of which famous Dr. *Thory* was the chief, whom I was trusted to, and who took care of me. To which being answered, that before the man could come to *London*, the business would certainly be over; he gave way: and presently, Pills, or Potion, somewhat was given me, which in less than twenty four hours, (with Gods blessing) restored me to sense, and speech; and from that time, I remember well, by what degrees I recovered. For I was brought so low before, that though prety chearful, ever since, it was a whole month at least, after, before I could read in a book, or stand well upon my legs; to say no more. Now, that, what I took, was some *Chymical* composition, my *Tutor* told me, but no particulars of it, which I suppose were not told him. For I never was so happy, as to see, or know him, that had been the Author of so much good, under God, unto me; who I think died soon after himself: neither can I so much as give an account of his name, till I can find the *Doctor's* papers, which at present I cannot. I know how averse some are from *Chymical* receipts: which indeed, from meer *Empiricks*, must needs be very dangerous: but from a man, that is well grounded in the old way, may do strange things. This example therefore I thought would not be amiss.

I HAVE been much pleased with the relation of divers *experiments*, which I have read in *Quercetanus*, when I have found them confirmed by other sober writers, that were not, or are not, meer *Chymists*. For till then, I think a man may do well to suspend his faith. And I know that *Quercetanus* himself, though very learned otherwise, is suspected sometimes by some, who generally give him good respect, to impose upon the *Credulity* of his Readers. How much more *Crollius*, *Paracelsus*, and the like? I find learned *Sennertus* charged with no less then *Atheism*, by more than one, for giving too much credit unto him: as particularly, concerning that, which they call, *the spiritual rose*: that is, a rose (and if a rose, why not any other plant, or flower) by art, reduced into ashes, wherein the substance of the rose shall be so preserved, that with a convenient heat applied, *a spiritual rose* shall arise, and appear in the glass, like in all things to what it was before. Yet this is averred for a truth by some, who profess to have made frequent *experiment* before company. So *Gafarell*, as I find him cited by others: but *Gafarell* is a man of very little authority with me; (especially in so great a thing) neither with any man, I think, that loves sobriety. I have ground enough for what I say. Had he, himself no intention to deceive; yet the Authors, whom he doth trust, such as *Galeotus*, *Thevet*, *Cardan*, (of whom more afterwards) and his doting Rabbins, sufficiently shew, what a man of judgment he was. In the beginning of that Chapter, where he treats of the *rose*, he tells us of another *experiment*, very well worth the knowing, if true, (*Cardan* is his Author) that a knife, being rubbed upon some kind of Loadstone, or a pointed instrument; the body may be cut, or run in, without any pain at all. It may be true, but I would have better authority for it, than *Cardans*; that *mendacissimus*,

mus, by his own, and his friends acknowledgment: but more likely to be false, because not better known, or more inquired after. But the testimony of a learned Physician of this Country, confirmed by a noble and learned Knight, doth much more move me. Neither are the arguments, brought against the possibility of such a thing, by those afore mentioned censurers, of any great weight with me. Why should it overthrow all Faith, and all Religion, or be prejudicial to the power of God; as though God, who is the Author of Nature, were not the Author of all wonders, brought to pass by *natural* means? Indeed, in point of Philosophy, it must needs be very strange, and in some manner *incredible*; because of that known Axiome, *A privatione ad hab tum, &c.* But to contest against clear evidence, by Philosophical Axiomes; is as much against Philosophy, and *Aristotle* particularly, as any thing. Neither (if true) doth it abate of the wonder of the *resurrection*, to me; who still look upon the same God, by his power the Author of the one, as well as of the other. Neither is my Faith concerning the *resurrection* of the dead, confirmed unto me by this *experiment*, (if it be true, which I desire I may be allowed to say, till I have seen it my self, or see more reason to believe it) which I thank God, doth rest upon better grounds, than *Chymical experiments*; but *illustrated*, I will acknowledge, and say, not a little. For as here, out of *ashes*, so there, out of the *dust*: as here, the same rose in substance, yet a *spiritual* rose; so there, the same body in substance; but a *spiritual* body: this, by fire; the other, I will not say by fire, yet not without fire; *when the Elements shall melt with fervent heat*; and *a new Earth*, and *new Heavens* are promised. So much for the possibility of this noble experiment I can plead: to which I add, that the same that deride it, as impossible, in point of reason;

and, as impious to believe; yet grant the birth, and growing of a Plant in distilled water, as possible and true, which to some others, may seem as *incredible.* But on the other side, when I consider, that what these write of *plants and flowers*; others, write of *mettals and minerals*, that they may be so *resolved* by art, *ut in vitro instar fruticis & arbusculæ, efflorescant & surrigantur*: it makes me to suspect the other the more. For if such things could be done, me-thinks they should be seen oftner than they are; or rather, reported to be. It were a sight for Kings and Princes; not to be done in corners, and by men, who, I am sure, have been found tripping in less matters. I make as much doubt of that which they call, *aurum alatum,* though by some averred with much *confidence.* For if true, the invention and use of *Gunpowder*, would be little regarded, in comparison.

THEY that write of the wonders of nature, or natural magick, as they call it; bring into this account also some things that have been done by exquisite art, apt to cause *admiration*, in the beholders, and *incredible*, or almost *incredible* to them, that have it by relation only. Though *art*, and *nature* be commonly opposed; yet well may such things be reckoned among the wonders of *nature* also, in more than one respect; whereof one may be, because the Authors of such wonders must be looked upon as helped, or fitted by nature, more than art, if by art at all. Such a one is mentioned, a rustick by his profession and education, by *Wormius*, in his *Musæum*: whose pieces were admired by all, and by some, he saith, thought to exceed bare art. Such were the works of *Archimedes*, that admirable man, whose miraculous atchievements, though brought to pass by Art, (whereof himself hath left sufficient evidences, to poste-

posterity) yet so far surpassing the reach and abilities (for ought we can find) of all that have been since him, in so many ages since, that we must needs think there was in him, and his works, much more of *nature*, than *art*. What praise a late Architect (*Dominicus Fontana*) got, for removing one of the *Roman*, or *Ægyptian* rather *Obelisks*, from one side of the *Vatican* Church, where it had stood a long time in *Circo Neronis*, to the other; all books that treat of these things are full of it: as particularly, how long the Pope (*Sixtus* the V.) was, before he could get any body that would undertake it; and how much the work was admired, (and still is) when it was done; what instruments were used; what cost was bestowed, and the like. It was, or is, an entire stone, of 956148 pounds weight: 170 foot high, as some write; but it may be a mistake of the Print: for others, whom I rather believe, say but 107; besides the basis, 37 foot high. The manner, how it was done, is acurately set down by *Henr. Monantholius*, in his Commentaries upon *Aristotles Mechanicks*. But what is this to what was performed by *Archimedes*, in his time? Which things, though of themselves, very *incredible*; yet attested at such a time, and by such witnesses, as they are, one may as well doubt, whether ever there was such a place as *Syracuse*, or such a man as *Marcellus*: not to speak of his own works, yet extant, which they that are able to understand, or part of them, look upon with as much admiration, as ever those works of his were, by them that saw them. I cannot but laugh at the conceit of some men, who think, that the use of Gunpowder was known to *Archimedes*, and that, by the help of it, he did what he did, at the siege of *Syracuse*: such a conceit also hath Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, as I remember,

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of *Alexanders* time; but upon what grounds, I shall not now enquire. But certainly, *Archimedes* his inventions are much undervalued by them, who think such things could be done by Gunpowder. Gunpowder indeed in a Ship may blow it up, suddenly: out of a Ship, may sink it, in time, if it be not too far. But to hoise a Ship, from the walls of the town, which were compassed by the Sea, at one end; and then to plunge it to the bottom: nay, to make it dance in the air, and twirle it about, to the horror, and amazement of all spectators; and other things, more particularly described by *Plutarch*, and by *Polibius*; is more, I think, than can be ascribed to the power of Gunpowder. However, the wonder of Gunpowder, *is, the first* invention, which was casual, *except the Devil (which I do not* believe, because *less hurt is now done in fights, than was*, when no Gunpowder was) had a hand in it: what is now done by it, no man doth wonder at: but what *Archimedes* did, was begun, and carried on by Art, and an incomparable brain, or wit, the gift of God, or *nature* only.

AMONG other works of *Archimedes*, one was a glass Sphere; so *Claudian* of it, but, which is more likely, *Lactantius* saith of *brass*: by both it is elegantly described; by the one, in Verse; by the other in Prose. This Sphere represented the *motions* (we may be allowed to speak so I hope, notwithstanding the new, or rather, in this, old revived Philosophy: for all men, I see, are not yet perswaded, nor like to be, to embrace *Copernicus*'s opinion) of the Spheres, and Planets exactly; of the Sun and Moon, especially, from which the division of days, and months, and years doth wholly depend. Here was matter of *admiration*, especially if he were the first, that ever attempted it. Of the truth, or possibility of this, no man doth doubt. But if it be true, which

which is written of another *Sphere*, found in the precious Cabinet of *Cosroes*, King of *Persia*, when he was overcome (after he had committed many horrible cruelties against the Christians) by *Heraclius*, the *Roman* Emperor, which not only represented the *Spheres*, and their *motions*, but also rained, lightned, and thundred: as I must acknowledge, that it surpassed that of *Archimedes*; so I shall take the liberty to doubt, whether any such can be made, by meer Art. Yet *Scickardus*, in his *series* of the Kings of *Persia*, doth speak of one of a latter date, made by one *Staffterus Tubingensis*, not less admirable, which also exhibited a Rain-bow; if many old men (for, by a mischance of fire, it was burned before his time, it seems) by him carefully examined about it (he saith) may be credited.

I KNOW not by what chance, a Discourse hath faln into my hands, containing an excellent description of some such *Machina*, called *Horologium Astronomicum*, which, as I guess by the last words, was to be seen in *Germany*, in the year of the Lord 1590. The words are; *David Wolkenstein, Vratislaviensis, Silesius; Mathematum professor, & Chori Musici praefectus in Argentoratensium Academia; Honestissimo & integerrimo viro, Domino Georgio Zolchero, amicitiae & observantiae ergo, describebat Anno Dom.* 1590. I will set down (some perchance will desire it) the beginning also.

DESCRIPTIO Astronomici Horologii, &c. Horologium hoc αὐτόματον *est, id est, per se mobile, ponderibus agitatum. Nomen ei indimus ab usu: nempe quia horas, praecipuas temporis partes, annum, mensem, nychthemeron, diem, noctem, horam, minutum etiam, mobilibus statuis, elegantissimis picturis, jucundissima sonorum harmonia, & cantu, discriminat & judicat. Partes ejus sex sunt. Prima continet globum coelestem, secunda Astrolabium: Calendarium, & orbem horariorum minutorum. Tertia*

habet tres orbes periodicorum motuum; menstrui, horarii, & hebdomadarii. In quarta, Regina considet, &, circum eam, aliquot proceres versantur cum pracone. Extra Regium Palatium, sunt Mors, & Miles, & post hos duos, Angeli. In quinta, sunt duo Angeli, Excubitor, & Gallus. Hæ quinque partes, in aperto sunt loco. Sexta pars, in abscondito est, cymbala continens.

THUS far the first page, with three lines of the second, written in an excellent hand, distinguished with variety of Incks, (besides the Title-Page, which hath more variety) black, and red: upon pure Vellum; but that it hath received some hurt by Sea-water, as I guess. The whole description doth consist of twenty four Pages. Here indeed, in this whole description, I find nothing of thunder, or lightning: no rain, no rain-bow, as in the former: but so many other things (*Eclipses* of Sun, and Moon, among the rest) that if I be not mistaken in the sense of the words, may deserve almost as much *admiration.* I did once conceive, that it was a publick Clock at *Argentoratum*, (in *Germany*) famous for some noble pieces of Architecture; but no mention of any such thing hath occurred hitherto to me, that I can call to mind. I have read a description out of *Politians* Epistles, that hath much affinity with this, but that it is not so large, neither doth it mention any Statues, or *I*mages, or Musical instruments. *I* doubt not, but some may know more of it, than *I* do, which this, may provoke them to impart.

AND now *I* am upon it, it must be acknowledged in general, that no Science, or Contemplation doth afford more wonders, and more abstract from all materiality, (*Theology* always excepted) than the *Mathematicks*, or *Mathematical conclusions.*

sions. As for example, (though it be a common example, yet never sufficiently admired) that two lines, bending the one towards the other, may be drawn (still bending, as before) *in infinitum*; that is, to eternity, and yet never meet: This, when a young Scholer in the University of *Oxford*, I was shewed, and sufficiently, by ocular demonstration, as it were, convicted, that it must be so: yet still so strange and *incredible* did it appear unto me, that I could never be satisfied, but that there is some kind of fallacy in that business. I have heard it thus also proposed, which did increase my suspicion the more. A. B. stand at a distance. B. stirreth not: A. maketh towards him. The first day, he goes half the way. The second, another half, of the space that remained, after the first days work, or march. The third, another half of what remained. So the fourth, the fifth day; still one half of the way, or space, that remaineth, and no more. I ask, when shall A. be at his journeys end, and overtake B. I answer, upon the same ground, as before, Never. I would not have these things used, as arguments to confirm the truth of Christian faith, or of any Articles of our faith (I see it is done, by some) that seem most *incredible*. For though assent may be extorted, by apparent irrefragable proofs, and propositions; yet hardly true belief wrought, and obtained. *Gassendus* saith, he will suspend his faith: *adhuc ambigo*, is his word: and gives his reason, Because *Mathematical* (to which, neverthelesse, of all humane Sciences, it is acknowledged, that truth doth most properly belong) suppositions may be true in one sense, and not in another. *Chrys. Magnenus*, a great stickler for the *atoms* saith, *Non eadem est ratio linearum Mathematicarum, & Physicarum.* I hope, then, it will not be required, that *Divinity* shall be

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tried by the *Mathematicks*, and made subservient to them; which yet the temper of some men of this age, doth seem to threaten, who scarce will allow any thing else, worthy a mans study; and then, what need of Universities?

BUT, not the *Theorems* of the science, but the works of *Mathematicians*, was that we were upon, as a more proper object (more visible, I am sure) of *admiration*, and by consequent of *Credulity* and *Incredulity*. Such were those admirable works of *Archimedes* we have before spoken of, and may have more occasion perchance, in our Second Part: and therefore shall proceed no further in this subject. So we go on.

THERE is not, I *think*, any thing more liable (after *monsters*) to popular *admiration*, than those things that grow in different Climats, or Countries. But, as it belongs to fools and children most properly, to gaze, with no little wondring sometimes, at those that wear Cloaths and Apparel different from their own, or that, which they are used unto: (some there be so simple, that can scarce believe them real men, endowed with the same qualities of nature, if the difference of apparel be very great) so truly, to wonder much at any natural thing; as plants, or beasts, or the like, that are said to grow, or live in any other part of the world; or upon relation, scarce to believe that to be truly existent, though we have good authority for it, which our own Country doth not afford; must needs argue great simplicity and ignorance. What can be more different (of things that are of one kind) than *Europian*, and *Asiatick* Wheat, otherwise called *Turkish-wheat*? What if all, or most other things did differ as much, the difference of soil and climat considered; it were no great wonder, in point of Nature. I have both seen the picture and narration of *Lobsters*, drawing men, notwithstanding

withstanding their resistance, with arms in their hands; into the Sea, to eat them. I will not upon a single testimony, though I have no exceptions against the relator, absolutely believe that it is true: though I believe it possible. A flying Mouse, is no wonder in *England*: why should I wonder at *a flying Cat* (I do not mean an *Owle*) if I have good authority for it: I have *Scaligers*, but that is not enough to make me believe it, though he name the place, except he said he had seen it, which he doth not. It is enough for me, that I believe it possible; and if it be true, when I know it, I shall make no wonder of it. Since we know that the world is full of variety, (none of the least of its ornaments, and an argument of the Creators power, and wisdom) why should we wonder at all, or make any difficulty to believe, what doth only confirm unto us, what we know, that the world is full of variety? But this kind of *admiration*, or *unbelief*, (besides them I have spoken of before) doth naturally belong to them, who never were out of their own Country, nor ever had the curiosity to read the travels of others; upon whom *Seneca* passeth this judgment; *Imperitum animal, homo, qui circumscribitur natalis soli fine*, which I may English, *That man is more an animal, than a man, whose knowledge doth not extend beyond the things of his own Country*. But then, I say, we must have good grounds for what we believe. For to believe every thing, that is reported or written, because it is possible, or not at all strange, in case it be true; doth argue as much weakness, as to believe nothing, but what our selves have seen. But there will be a more proper place for this afterwards. These things here spoken of, might be referred also to the power of *use* and *custom* before spoken of, but in another sense.

OF divers things, which are ordinary objects of *admiration*, and by consequent of *Credulity* and *Incredulity*, hath

hath been ſpoken hitherto: but the moſt ordinary, is yet behind; and that is, things that are *ſupernatural*; of which we may conſider two kinds. Some things ſo called, (termed alſo *natural* by ſome, as was ſaid before) becauſe no probable natural reaſon hath hitherto been found, or given, nor are apparently reducible to any of thoſe former heads, before mentioned: though it is poſſible, that time, and further experience may diſcover more, and that be found *natural*, in the ordinary ſenſe; which before was judged *ſupernatural.* And again, ſome things, which though called *natural* alſo, by ſome; yet, not by ordinary men only, who may eaſily be deceived; but by others alſo, men of fame, and approved ſobriety and ſincerity, whoſe buſineſs it hath been all their life long, (whether obliged by their profeſſion, or no) to enquire into the ways, and works of nature, are deemed and eſteemed, the actings of *Devils*, and *Spirits* immediately; or of men and women, aſſiſted with their power, as their inſtruments. But at this very mention of *Devils and Spirits*, I ſee me-thinks, not a few, and among them, ſome, not only in their opinion, but in the opinion of many others, and by publick fame, learned and experienced men; ſome, to recoil with indignation; others, gently to ſmile, with ſome kind of compaſſion. Now if it may be rationally doubted, whether there be any ſuch thing as *Devils*, or *Spirits*, and conſequently ſuch men, and women, as *Magicians*, and *Sorcerers*, and *Witches*; then there is as much reaſon, to doubt of all thoſe particular relations, which preſuppoſe the operation of *Spirits*, whether by themſelves, immediately, or by their agents, and inſtruments, *Witches*, and *Wizards*. And indeed ſo we find it commonly, that they that believe

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no *Devils*, nor *Spirits*, do also discredit and reject all relations, either ancient, or late, that cannot with any colour of probability, or knack of wit, be reduced to *natural causes*; and that they that do not believe *Witches* and *Wizards*, seldom believe that there be *Devils*, or *Spirits*. I might go further, according to the observation of many, both ancient and late: but I will stop there. However, if not all Atheists themselves (which I have more charity, than to believe) yet it cannot be denied, but the opinion is very apt to promote *Atheism*, and therefore earnestly promoted and countenanced by them, that are *Atheists*. And indeed, that the denying of *Witches*, to them that content themselves in the search of truth with a superficial view, is a very *plausible* cause; it cannot be denied. For if any thing in the world, (as we know all things in the world are) be liable to fraud, and imposture, and innocent mistake, through weakness and simplicity; this subject of Witches and Spirits is. When a man shall read, or hear such a story, as *Erasmus* in his *Colloquium*, intituled *Spectrum* (the thing was acted in *England*, as I remember) doth relate: Who doth not find in himself a disposition, for a while, to absolute *Incredulity* in such things? And the world is full of such stories; some, it may be, devised of purpose, either for sport, or of design, to advance the opinion, in favour of *Atheism*: but very many so attested, that he must be an infidel, as can make any question of the truth. How ordinary is it to mistake natural melancholy (not to speak of other diseases) for a Devil? And how much, too frequently, is both the disease increased, or made incurable; and the mistake confirmed, by many ignorant Ministers, who take every wild motion, or phansie, for

a suggestion of the Devil? Whereas, in such a case, it should be the care of wise friends, to apply themselves to the Physician of the body, and not to entertain the other, (I speak it of *natural* melancholy) who probably may do more hurt, than good; but as the learned Naturalist doth allow, and advise? Excellent is the advice and counsel in this kind, of the Author of the book *de morbo Sacro* attributed to *Hippocrates*, which I could wish all men were bound to read, before they take upon them to visit sick folks, that are troubled with melancholy diseases. But on the other side, it cannot be denied, because I see learned Physicians are of that opinion, and visible effects do evince it; but that the Devil doth *immiscere se*, in several diseases: *whereof* Sir *Theodore Mayerne*, (*whom I think* for strange and even miraculous cures, *I may call the* *Æsculapius* of his time, and do no body wrong) gave me a notable instance, concerning a maid in his house, that had been bitten by a mad Dog, which also died of it: to whom when he came in a morning, with a Looking-glass (to make trial of what he had read, but not yet experienced himself) under his gown; before he was in the room, she began to cry out, and told him what it was he had about him. But I leave a further account of it to his own learned and voluminous *Observations*, which I hope they that have inherited that vast estate, will not envy to posterity. Yet I know there be Physicians too, that would make us believe, that bare melancholy, will make men, or women prophesie, and speak strange languages, as Latine, Greek, Hebrew; (of all which there be sundry unquestionable instances) but such are looked upon, by others of their profession, the far greater, and every way, much more considerable number, as Hereticks in that point. But because the matter is liable to mistakes, and imposture, hence to infer and conclude, there is no such

thing,

thing, as either *Witches*, or *Spirits* ; there is no truth, but may be denied upon the same ground, since it is certain, there is no *truth*, no nor *vertue*, but is attended with a counterfeit, often mistaken for the true; as by divers Ancients, both Historians, and Philosophers, is observed, and by sundry pregnant instances confirmed; whereof I have given a further account in my Latine notes upon *Antoninus*, the *Roman* Emperor, his incomparable (I must except those of our late Gracious Soveraign, and Gods glorious Martyr) moral *Meditations*.

NOW whereas I said but now, they that did not believe there be Witches, or Spirits, did generally discredit, and reject such relations, either ancient or late, as cannot with any colour of probability or knack of wit, be reduced to natural causes: it is true, generally they do: But see the contradictions, and confusions of a false opinion, and affected singularity. For some of them of a more tender mould, being convicted by frequent experience, of the truth of those operations, by others accounted *supernatural*, or *diabolical* and yet, it seems, not willing to recant their error of the non-existence of *Witches and Spirits*, which perchance had got them (the thing, certainly, that divers aim at) the reputation of discerning able men, above the ordinary rate of men; to maintain their reputation, they devised a way, how not to recede from their former opinion, and yet not deny that, which they thought (it is their own acknowledgment) could not be denied, but by *mad-men*; that is, *supernatural* (generally so called) operations. How so? Why, they tell us, that all men, good or bad, learned and unlearned; by the very constitution of their soul, and the power and efficacy of a natural faith, or confidence, may work all those things, that we call *miracles*, or *supernatural operations*. This

was the opinion of one *Ferrerius*, a later, and learned Physician in *France*, whom I have had occasion, but upon this very subject, elsewhere to speak of. How many more besides him, did espouse the same opinion, (for he was a man of great credit, as by *Thuanus* his relation doth appear) I know not. Now because I never heard, neither is it alledged by any other, that I have read, that this man, or any that were of his opinion, did ever attempt to do miracles, which certainly they would have done, had they had any confidence in their opinion; May not any man probably conclude from thence, that they maintained, what they knew in their own conscience to be false: or by Gods just judgment, for not submitting their reason to his *Revealed Word*, and the ordinary maxims of Religion, were suffered to entertain such opinions, as must needs argue some kind of deliration and infatuation?

BUT if the Reader will have the patience of a short digression, I will tell him a story, concerning this *Augerius*, or, as *Bodin* writes him, *Ogerius*, which may be worth his hearing; not because it is strange, which is not my business, properly, but because it is not impertinent to what we drive at, *truth*. There was, it seems, at *Tholouse* in *France*, where this man lived and died, a fair house, in a convenient place, which was haunted, and for that reason, to be hired for a very small rent. This house, *Augerius* (as once *Athenodorus*, the Philosopher, did at *Athens*) not giving perchance any great credit to the report, did adventure upon. But finding it more troublesome, than he did expect, and hearing of a *Portugal* Scholar in the town, who in the nail of a young boy, (it is a kind of *Divination*, we shall speak of, in due place) could shew hidden things, agreed with him. A young girle was to look. She told, she saw a woman curiously clad, with precious chains, and gold:

gold: which stood at a certain piller in the Cellar, (the place, it seems, chiefly haunted) having a Torch in her hand. Hereupon the *Portugal's* advice to the Physician, was, he should have the ground digged, just in that place; for that, certainly there was some treasure there. The Physician had so much faith, it seems, as to believe him, and presently takes care for the execution. But when they were even come to the treasure, as they thought, or whatever it was; a sudden whirle-wind puts out the Candles, and going out of the Chimney, (*spiraculum cellæ*, the Latine Translation calls it: which may be understood of a Store-house, in any part of the House, or a Cellar, or Vault: I live in a House built upon a Vault, which once had a Chimney) battered some 14 foot of battlement in the next house, whereof part fell upon the porch of the house; part upon the said Chimney, and part upon a stone-pitcher, or water-pot, that was carried by a woman, and brake it. From that time, all annoyance of Spirits, ceased in that house. When the *Portugal* was told, what had happened, he said, The Devil had carried away the treasure, and that he wondred the Physician had no hurt. *Bodinus*, my Author, saith, The Physician himself told him the story, two days after; who presently after (*Bodinus*, I mean) went to see the ruines, and found it as he was told. And this, saith he, happened in a very clear calm day, as at the best time of the year, though it was the 15 *December*, 1558. By the Dedicatory Epistle, in my Edition, *Bodinus* first set out his book 1579: *Augerius* died, 1588. There arose some difference, it seems, between *Bodinus*, and this *Augerius*, before he died, as *Thuanus* doth tell us. But whether friends, or foes, (though here, *Augerius* is stiled by him, *Medicus Doctissimus*; and a little before, where he speaks of his opinion,

vir doctus) no man, I think, can rationally have the least suspition, that *Bodinus*, upon the very place, where the thing happened, which could not be long concealed from publick knowledge, durst, or could relate it in any particular, otherwise, than as it was generally known in all the Town, to have happened, and *Augerius* himself had made relation to him. And this was the man, who not able otherwise to avoid *Spirits* and *supernatural operations*, which as to the matter of fact, he doth acknowledge, and thinks it a kind of madness to deny them; did take upon him to devise and maintain, that all men naturally, *learned and unlearned*, were in a capacity to do miracles by their faith. I wish the Reader would take the pains to peruse that whole Chapter of his, *De Homerica Curatione*, as he doth call it, to see, how that learned man doth labour miserably to come off, with any probability, with his mad project; which yet, he professeth, he did not hastily, or unadvisedly fall upon; but, *cùm toto animo ac studio omni* [in eam cogitationem] *incumberem*, as himself speaketh. A good *caveat*, I think, to others, how they entertain new opinions. Yet, I cannot absolutely say, that he was the first Author of this mad device. The *Enthusiastick Arabs* long before, (we have given an account of them, elsewhere) did broach some such thing; which by *Cornelius Agrippa*, is largely explained and maintained in his books, *De occulta Philosophia* : bnt neither by the *Arabs*, nor by *Cornelius*, is this power given to all men in general, *learned*, and *unlearned*; but to them only, who by constant study and speculation in these mystical arts, (in very truth, *Diabolical*, and so acknowledged, in effect, by *Cornelius* himself, in his solemn recantation in his books, *De Vanitate Scientiarum*; though not believed by all men, to have been so sincere, as it should have been) have refined their Souls to such a degree of perfe-

perfection, as much exceeds the bounds of ordinary humanity. But, neither were these ever famed for wonders, or miracles done by them, that I remember, whether *Arabs*, or others. Ancient Magicians, as *Porphyrius*, *Iamblicus*, and the rest; did profess to deal by Spirits: So later Magicians, *Agrippa* and others; and *Trithemius*, in his answers to the questions, proposed unto him, as the man then in *Europe*, best able to resolve him, by *Maximilian*, the Emperor, concerning the power of *Witches*, &c. doth much inveigh against the malice, wickedness, and fraudulency of those *Spirits*. And those few set aside, as *Agrippa*, *Trithemius*, and some others (of whose great acts nevertheless, I find but little recorded) it is well known, that such as we call *supernatural*, not *Divine* operations, have in all ages, since those ancienter Magicians, been wrought by men and women, who were altogether illiterate, and for their lives, most infamous.

AS for them, who allow and acknowledge *supernatural operations* by Devils and Spirits, as *Wierius*; who tells as many strange stories of them, and as *incredible*, as are to be found in any book; but stick at the business of *Witches* only, whom they would not have thought the Authors of those mischiefs, that are usually laid to their charge, but the Devil only; though this opinion may seem to some, to have more of *charity*, than *Incredulity*; yet the contrary will easily appear to them, that shall look into it more carefully; as by that little we shall say of it afterwards, any indifferent man may be satisfied. And though it is much, that he doth grant, and no small part of what we drive at, when he doth acknowledge *supernatural operations*, by Devils and Spirits, as we said before: and that he had not the confidence, though his project of acquitting Witches from all crime, might tempt him to oppose himself to the be-

lief (grounded upon daily experience) of all ages, of all men, ſome few excepted; nevertheleſs, I cannot but look upon the opinion he doth maintain, as groſs, and notorious *incredulity*; and of very pernicious conſequence; and therefore, think my ſelf bound to enquire into it a little further, before I proceed to other matter.

MY firſt argument, or obſervation ſhall be, *concenſus generis humani*. For, that ſome few here and there diſſent, if any ſhould object them againſt the univerſal conſent of men; he may as well object, that the earth is not round, becauſe there be many hills, and valleys in moſt part of the world. Now this reaſon from the generality of mens belief all the world over, muſt be of great weight to engage ours, except there be manifeſt reaſon to the contrary. *Ariſtotle* doth acknowledge it, a man otherwiſe not over-credulous, or addicted to popular opinions; Ὃ πᾶσι δοκεῖ, τοῦτο εἶναι φαμὲν, ſaith he: *What all men believe, we may ſay, is truth.* And what uſe hath been made by ancient Heathens and others, of this general conſent of mankind, to prove that there is a God, is well known. It is very uſual with many, when they have ſome ſtrange opinion to broach, to tell us of ſome erroneous perſwaſion, which hath long prevailed among men; as, that thread bare example of the *Antipodes*, which once to believe, was hereſie; to which ſome others may be added. But in this particular, how impertinent ſuch allegations are, who doth not ſee? For it is one thing by ſome authority of man, or probability of reaſon, to be miſled into an opinion, determinable more by ſpeculation, than experience; or, if by experience, yet rare, and difficult, and wherein few men are concerned, as to matter of life: In ſuch a caſe, if the error be never ſo general, it is no wonder. But in a caſe of this nature, as *Witches* (to which we add,

Spirits,

Spirits, in general, and *supernatural* operations) which doth mostly depend, especially where learning is not of daily experience, and wherein mens lives and fortunes are so much concerned: to be misled in this, and from age to age, to continue in the error, is a strange thing indeed, if not a meer impossibility. The world is much wider now (as to Knowledge) than it hath been formerly: and therefore the consent of it so much the more considerable. I have (as all men, I think have that are any thing curious) read several relations of all the known parts of the world, written by men of several Nations, and Professions, learned and unlearned, in divers languages: by men of several ages, ancient and late: I do scarce remember any short, or long, but doth afford somewhat to the confirmation of this truth; but in most, I remember well to have met with very particular accounts and relations of *Witches* and *Sorcerers*; strange divinations, predictions, operations, whereof the relators, many of them, men of several Nations and professions, Papists and Protestants, who probably never heard of one another, profess themselves to have been eye-witnesses.

NOW if we confine our selves to this one part of the world, which we call *Europe*, to which one part all learning seemeth now to be in a manner confined; which, within this hundred, or two hundred years, hath produced so many able men of all professions; Divines, Lawyers, Physicians, and Philosophers; Papists and Protestants; those few men excepted, who may soon be named all, known by their writing, to have dissented; Who is there among them all, who hath not, *pro re nata*, and as occasion served, born testimony to this truth, or cause? But how many are there, of most Kingdoms, *Germanes*, High and Low, *French*, *English*, *Spanish*; not to seek

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further; of all professions that have written of this subject, pleaded it, by reason and experience, and all kind of proofs; answered all objections, and pretensions: some whereof, learned and grave, have had the examination of persons, men and women accused for those wicked practices in great number. *Nicholaus Remigius*, a man both pious and learned, (I wish covetous Printers had not bereaved us of his excellent Poetry, in many Editions) in his books of *Demonolatrie*, doth profess, within the space of sixteen years, to have had the examination of near 2000, whereof 900 were condemned to death. We may say the same, or there-abouts, I think, of *Grillandus*, not to mention others. That so many, wise and discreet, well versed in that subject, could be so horribly deceived, against their wills; or so impious, so cruel, as wilfully to have a hand in the condemnation of so many Innocents; or again, wilfully, in the face of the Sun, and in defiance to God, by so many false relations, to abuse all men, present, and future; what man can believe. Their chiefest evasion, who are, or would seem to be of a contrary opinion, is, what a strange thing a depraved fancy, or imagination is; how easily it may represent to it self Devils, and Spirits; Sorceries and inchantments, and, God knows what: which things, commonly talked of, among ordinary people, especially, as many other things are; though they have no real being, yet may make great impressions in the brain, and offer themselves in sleep, or when the brain is sick, and out of temper, by melancholy especially. Or, if they be of *Wierius* his opinion, what advantage the *Devil* may make of a sick brain, to make silly poor women believe, that they have done things, which they never did, nor could. And this, when they have proved by two or three examples (or say twenty, or more; for it is no hard business) they think they have done much,

much. But what reaſon have they, to think this ſuch a myſtery, that none of thoſe, that have had to do with *Witches*, and *Sorcerers*, ever heard of any ſuch thing; and would not well conſider it, before they paſſed any judgment? But what if more than one, ten, or twenty perchance, (it hath been ſo ſometimes) have been actors, or acceſſories in ſome one execrable buſineſs, and, upon ſuſpition, being ſeverally examined, are found to agree in one tale; to have been thus and thus incouraged, aſſiſted, by *Spirits*; to have acted ſuch and ſuch things; met in ſuch places, at ſuch times; which things, accompanied with notable circumſtances, are found upon examination to be true, in all points and particulars? What if others, men and women, be convicted by the depoſition of *ſundry* creditable witneſſes, upon ſome ſudden quarrel, or old grudge; To have curſed, and threatned, thus and thus; men or cattle; and that it hath happened accordingly: Strange deaths, ſtrange diſeaſes, ſtrange unnatural, unuſual accidents, have enſued: can all this be, the effects of a depraved fancy? Or what, when ſuch a houſe, ſuch a pariſh hath been troubled with ſuch unuſual accidents; if all thoſe accidents, immediately ceaſe, upon the arraignment and execution of ſome, that are ſuſpected, and have confeſſed, (though it doth not always ſo fall out, that they confeſs, which may be ſome argument of their repentance, which, I fear, is not very uſual) ſhall we impute all this to a depraved fancy, or imagination: or ſay, with *Wierius*, that all this is done by the Devil only, to bring poor innocent women to deſtruction. And that God doth ſuffer theſe things, to puniſh (but more of that by and by) the *credulity* of men? Truly, as I can believe, that ſome men, innocently, for want of experience and good information, may hold ſuch an opinion, which of the two, they conceive moſt charitable; ſo, that

 any

any man of ordinary capacity, that hath taken pains to inform himſelf, can really, without ſome great and ſecret judgment of God, perſiſt in it, is to me almoſt *incredible*; or not leſs ſtrange than any of theſe ſupernatural operations, which ordinarily cauſe moſt admiration.

THEN, if a man conſider, what kind of men, for the moſt part, they have been, who have taken upon them, to oppoſe the belief of mankind, or univerſality of men, concerning Witches, *&c.* ſome notorious Atheiſts, as *Pomponatius*, *Vaninius*, *&c.* others, confident, illiterate wretches, as one of this Country, *Reginald Scot*, and the like; he will think certainly, that if the cauſe be no better, than the Patrons, it cannot be very good, nor ſee any reaſon at all to embrace it. But I muſt not let *Reginald Scot* paſs ſo, without a further account, for their ſakes (if any) that have a better opinion of him, though otherwiſe, a very inconſiderable man. His book, I muſt confeſs, I never had, nor ever read; but as I have found it by chance, where I have been, in friends houſes, or Book-ſellers ſhops; and, as the manner is, caſt my eyes, here and there; by which perfunctory kind of taſte, I am ſure, I had no temptation to read much of him. I do not, therefore, take upon me to judge of him, by what I have read of him my ſelf, which being ſo little, might deceive me; but by what I have read of him, in others, whom I know to have been learned, and judicious, and of great moderation and candor, in judging, even of enemies. This, I hope, I may ſpeak without offence, or contradiction, of one, whoſe ſurname, notwithſtanding the vaſt difference of their worth, comes ſomewhat near (for I know, that obſervations have been made, even upon names) to the others chriſtian-name; and that is, Doctor *Reynolds*, when he lived, as I take it, *Regius Profeſſor*

fessor of Divinity, in the University of *Oxford*: who it seems upon the report the man had got among the vulgar, had the curiosity (a right *helluo librorum*, as any was in his time) to read him. He doth mention him more than once, or twice, in those learned, and elaborate *Prælectiones* of his upon the *Apocrypha*; and not only name him, but takes notice of many particular passages, and confutes them; or rather, makes himself and his Auditors (now Readers) sport with them, but always admiring the unparallel'd boldness, and impertinence of the man. Of all the books he doth mention, in those large and elaborate *Prelections*, I do not remember any whom he doth censure with more scorn and indignation. Neither is Dr. *Reynolds* the only man I have read, that doth censure him: I could name two or three more, if it were *tanti*, or worth the while. And what might not we expect from a man, who reckons *Plutarch*, and *Pliny* (so I find him quoted) among the Fathers of the Church: and *Leonardum Vairum*, a late *Spaniard*, who hath written three books, *De fascino*, or *Incantatione*, (I have him not, but in *French*) and stiles himself *Beneventanum*, *Ordinis Sancti Benedictini*, & *Priorem Abbatiæ ejusdem*, *in Italia*: makes him, I say, either a Protestant, or an ancient Father: But these things we may laugh at, if these were his greatest errors; concerning which, they that desire to know more, may find enough in that learned piece before mentioned.

AS I was upon this, and had even written, or rather, (for I had ended this *first part*, and was now writing it out, as fast as my weak condition would give me leave) written out so far: a worthy learned friend, whose judgment and communication in all kind of literature, wherein he is very expert, I much value, brought me a book entituled, *A Philosophical endeavour, in the defence of the being of Witches and Apparitions, against Drollery & Atheism*, 1668.

Glad

Glad was I, to ſee the book, who am a ſtranger to all new books, except it be by ſome chance, theſe many years; and I was not long, before I had run it over. I was glad to find, that we agree ſo well in our account, both in this particular of *Reginald Scots*, and of Witches in general, though in different ways. He Philoſophically, and ſubtilly: I, more popularly and plainly; yet I hope, not leſs uſefully. As for his particular opinions, or conjectures, we may take further time to conſider of them. His zeal againſt the Scoffers and Drollers of the time, as he doth call them; that is, againſt *Atheiſm*, which now paſſeth commonly, but moſt falſely, and among them only, who want true wit, and ſolidity; for wit and gallantry, I do much applaud. So much of it, (the book I mean) if not to ſatisfie others, yet my friend, who did help me to the ſight of it.

BUT *Wierius* was a learned man, a Phyſician by his profeſſion, who neither wanted wit, nor experience. They that have read his other book, *De lamiis*, (which I never ſaw) lay to his charge, that he is not conſtant in his opinion: ſure I am, in his book *De præſtigiis*, *&c.* he doth ſhew much inconſiſtency; and ſometimes, no ſmall conflict and repugnancy, as a man that is much put to it, and doth not know what to ſay. For example, where he doth argue, whether men or women, *Sorcerers* and *Witches*, may become unſenſible to any torments, inflicted by Magiſtrates; at firſt, he doth deliver it affirmatively, that they may; and wickedly, or unadviſedly, (as elſewhere frequently, for which he is much condemned, and cenſured by ſome, to have written more in favour of *Spirits*, than *women*) doth ſet down ſome charms, that (he ſaith, or may be ſo underſtood) will do it. But then immediately, he doth propoſe ſome things to the end, that what he hath delivered before as true and certain, might be queſtioned and

deemed

deemed rather ridiculous and falſe, than true, or credible. For (ſaith he, as though any man, acquainted with the world, or the Scriptures, could not have anſwered it) *all powers are of God* : it is not likely, that God will give ſo much power to *Devils*, as to hinder the courſe of Juſtice. A great argument indeed, of Gods power, and providence over the world, that though he doth it ſometimes, to make us the more ſenſible, and thankful ; yet he doth it not often. Secondly, becauſe God, as he is juſt, will not have wicked actions (a great and invincible argument, that there is a time and place of rewards, beſides this preſent world) to paſs unpuniſhed. Yet for all this, his concluſion at laſt is : (*Sed tamen hominum impietate ſic merente, ſæpius hæc accidiſſe fateor*) *that it is ſo nevertheleſs* ; *there be Charms and Spells, which with the Devils help* (*through the wickedneſs of men*) *will make men and Women unſenſible of any torments, be they never ſo great.* This puts me in mind of what I have heard from Sir *Theodore Mayerne*, (though dead many years ago, yet his memory, I hope, is yet freſh and living : I ſhall need to ſay no more) whereof he had been, he ſaid, an eye witneſs ; and what courſe was then held in *Geneva* (which then abounded with ſuch creatures) for the prevention, or redreſs of ſuch *Diabolical unſenſibleneſs*, in Witches, and Magicians. I could ſay more from him ; but I will not, now he is dead, give any man occaſion to queſtion the truth, either of his, or my relation. But to return to *Wierius* : So much was the man himſelf unſatisfied in his own opinion, that it is no eaſie thing for any man elſe, that reads him, to know what he would have. For, that horrible things are done really, according to the confeſſion of women, accounted Witches ; that, he doth not deny : That divers things, by the confeſſion of theſe women, of the time, and place, and manner, and complices,

come

come to be known, which before were not known, and which upon diligent examination are found punctually true, in every circumstance, according to their confession; he doth not only acknowledge, but doth tell many strange stories himself to confirm it. What then? The Devil, saith he, makes them believe they have done, what himself hath been the true author of; nor could indeed be done by any, but himself. But did ever any man believe, that which Witches did, they did it by their own power? But that they wilfully, and knowingly, to satisfie their own lust, or desire of revenge, or other wicked end, make use of the Devil, to bring such wicked things to pass, which are confessed to be true and real, and wherein they usually are instrumental themselves; as by clear manifest proofs, and evidences (if any thing be clear and certain in the world, besides their own confession) doth often appear; this is that which is laid to their charge, and for which they deservedly suffer.

NAY, he doth not deny, but that such as have been bewitched, have been restored by those, who were suspected (and convicted, some) to have bewitched them: and yet for all this, bare Phansie the cause of all. I beseech him, What hath he left to us, that we can call *truth*, if this be but phancy? And still the conclusion is, that God doth suffer these things, poor innocent women to perish, for the *Credulity* of men; because they believe that there be *Witches* in the world: So that according to him, not those women, who are suspected and convicted by the Devil, upon their earnest seeking to him, to have done such and such things; but they that are so credulous, as to believe it, deserve more (though he doth not say it, it doth follow so) to bear the punishment. And who doth not see, that by this doctrine, the greatest Malefactor, Traitors, Rebels, and the

like,

like, may be accounted innocent? If this be not enough, to ſhew that the man was infatuated; then hear him plead, that *Witches* cannot be, becauſe it is againſt the Goodneſs of God, to ſuffer, that poor old women, oppreſſed with miſery and age, ſhould fall into the worſt of evils, as to become a prey unto the Devil. And again, that if God did give ſuch power to *Witches*, the world could not ſubſiſt: That if *Witches* have ſuch power, what need any King, or Prince be at ſuch charge, to raiſe Armies, to defend themſelves, or offend others; when one ſingle Witch may bring the ſame things to paſs, without ſuch trouble, or coſt? Now the ſtrength of theſe arguments doth lye in this; if it be true, firſt, that women are the only object of Gods Providence and Goodneſs, and not men: And ſecondly, becauſe God for reaſons beſt known to him, yet not altogether incomprehenſible to man, doth ſometimes ſuffer (as in *Jobs* caſe) ſome of theſe things to be, which we may believe, and yet believe that not one hair of our heads can periſh, to our prejudice, without Gods permiſſion: that God, I ſay, becauſe *ſometimes*, is therefore bound to ſuffer them *always*, and hath given the Devil abſolute power over the Earth: which things, if ridiculous, and impious; ſo certainly muſt the opinion be, that is grounded upon them. But if all this reaſoning will do nothing; yet *Wierius* hath another refuge; though, we *ſee* theſe things, (which we think a good argument of truth in moſt other things) yet we muſt not *believe them*, but rather think that the Devil hath bewitched our eyes to repreſent unto us things, that are not *really*, than to believe, that women can be ſo cruel. So he profeſſeth of himſelf; *Tam enim id exiſtit inhumanum, tetricum, & crudele, & creditu difficile, ut ſi vel meis intuerer hæc oculis*, &c. Yet of men, he will believe any thing, it ſeems, by

thoſe

those sad stories he tells us of Sorcerers, whom he doth detest to the pit of Hell; but of women (*Solomon* did not find it so, nor the Author of *Ecclesiasticus*) we must not believe any such thing. My opinion, (to end this discourse) concerning the man, is, His Prince, and Master, whose chief Physician he was, had been wrought into that belief by some, (as always here and there some have been of that opinion) before *Wierius* had any thing to do with him; that it was so, and so, in the case of Witches, just as *Wierius* doth endeavour to make good, in his book: who also (his Prince) what he believed, took a pleasure (if not, pride) to discourse it publickly. All this, I learn from *Wierius* his *dedication*, and some passages of the book: my opinion is, that to gratifie him, was the chief ground of *Wierius* his undertaking, who probably by what we have observed, would not have engaged himself into such trouble of spirit, and mind, to oppose the publick belief, without some great provocation. This is a charitable opinion, the Reader will say, if he consider, what is objected unto him by others, to prove, as was intimated before, that what he intended, was not so much to favour *women*, as the *Devil* himself, with whom, it is to be feared, that he was too well acquainted; as (besides other pregnant arguments) *Cornelius Agrippa* his disciple, and bosom friend, according to his own relation and acknowledgment. But enough of him.

TO others; that are of his opinion, or perchance deny *Magicians*, as well as *Witches*, I would have them to consider, that if there be really such, as the world doth believe; who (whether men, or women) by entring into covenant with the publick enemy of mankind, and by the mischief they do, not to particular men, women, and children only (not to mention dumb creatures, which are made for the service of man) but even (God permit-

ting)

ting) to whole Towns, and Countries, by Fires and Pestilences, and otherwise, as the most approved Historians, and Physicians of these times, who have taken great pains to search into it, and give such reasons as few, I think, will undertake rationally to refute, do assert and maintain: If such, I say, really, who for those reasons, deserve no less than the *Devil*, to be accounted the enemies of mankind: what may we think of those, (though some, I believe, through ignorance, and for want of due information) that become the Patrons of such? And if there be laws against calumniators, and false witnesses, and those that go about to take away the good name, even of private men and women; what punishment do they deserve, that dare publickly traduce all the venerable Judges of so many Christian Kingdoms, as either ignorant wretches, or wilful murderers?

BUT all this while, we have said nothing, from the authority of Gods *Holy word*, by which, besides some pregnant examples of Witches, and witchcraft in the Scriptures, all Sorcerers and Magicians; all *Witches* and *Wizards*, with much exactness distinguished and enumerated, are condemned to death; and their sin set out, as the most hainous of sins, in the eyes of God; and for which more than any other, the wrath of God comes upon the children of men, to the utter destruction of whole Kingdoms and Countries. This indeed I should have begun with, and might have contented my self with such authority, had I to do with Christians only. But I know what times we live in: we may thank these late confusions, the fruit of Rebellion, and a pretended *Reformation*, for a great part of it. But they that are true Christians, need no other proof, I am sure. Others, if rational, and not too far ingaged into *Atheism*, have somewhat also to consider of, if they please.

I THINK I have spoken of most of those general heads,

heads, under the *Mathematicks* (as by the rest, many particulars, which I do not mention) comprehending the *Opticks*, and all manner of glasses, by which strange things are performed: most of those general heads, I say, *natural*, and *supernatural*, which usually cause *admiration* among men; and thereby become objects of *credulity* and *incredulity*; Civil, and Divine only, which we refer to their proper places, excepted. I shall now in the next place give some Instances, first in things meerly *natural*, as generally understood; then in things *supernatural*; or, in *Trallianus*, and other ancient Physicians, their sense and notion, which we have followed in the Title; *natural* too, but as *natural* is opposed to *rational*: which things, intended for instances, shall be such, which I, upon grounds of reason, as I conceive, profess to believe; though by many, who suspect the relations, not credited, or thought impossible. After which instances, I shall annex some *directions*, or *observations*; with some examples of some things, which but lately generally credited, have proved false, which I think may be useful.

MY first Instance shall be concerning those men and women, who have been reported to have lived some years without either meat or drink: except *air* should be accounted meat, as to *Chamelions*, and some other creatures it is generally (though denied by some, I know) supposed to be. The truth is, that having had occasion sometimes, not otherwise very forward to tell strange things, though never so true, in ordinary discourse, yet upon occasion, supposing this to be no such strange thing, because I had read so much of it, but might be believed; I did once adventure, in very good company, a learned Physician being then present, to mention such a thing: but I perceived it was entertained, as a thing not *credible*; especially, after the Physi-

cian,

tian, in very deed an able man, whom I did not desire to oppose in a thing more properly belonging to his cognizance; had passed his verdict upon it, that it could not be. Yet now, I will say, upon the credit of so many good Authors, and the particular relations of so many examples, delivered with so many circumstances, wherein no mistake, or imposture can rationally be suspected; that I do believe it, that divers men, and women, but more women, than men, have lived divers years, (some to their lives end, others for some years only, and then returned to eating) without any bodily food, ordinary or extraordinary, liquid or solid; yea, I believe it, as I believe that I my self, with ordinary food, and Gods blessing, have so many years above 60. lived hitherto.

BUT here, before I proceed, lest any, now that mocking and scoffing at Religion, and the Scriptures, is so much in fashion, should take any advantage, to slight and deride Religious, or miraculous fasts, such as are recorded in the Scripture: I must profess, and declare in the first place, that I never met with any relation, true or false, of any man or woman, that ever did, or could, by any art, or study; (though, by the Devil, I think, such a thing might, God permitting without any prejudice to *religious* and *miraculous fasts*) bring their bodies to any such thing. But so many, as I have read of, were such, who either after some great and tedious disease, or some natural operation of a proper temperament, or constitution of body, not voluntarily, but against their wills, came to this strange pass. The want of which right information might make some, whom *Joubertus* doth mention, and stile, *men for their simplicity, and piety* (except he speak it ironically) *venerable*; to discredit, what otherwise, upon such evidences, they would have believed. I remember well, that when I was a young Student in

the University of *Oxford*, I had often a book in *Quarto* (as we call them) in my hands, which also had the picture of the party cut to the life, which did contain a very particular relation of one of these: which because I never did meet with since, (it was in one of the Booksellers shops, not in any Library) I make this mention of it here, so far as I can remember. But divers others have written of it: among others, *Joubertus*, before mentioned, a *French* Physician; against whom one *Harvy* appeared, to shew the impossibility, in point of nature; who, by more than one, I believe, (for *Raphael Thorius*, Doctor of Physick, whom I may not mention without honour, both for his worth, and for particular obligations; lent me a little *French* book in defence of this subject, which he accounted a very solid piece, by which this secret of nature came first to my knowledge) by more therefore than one, I believe, but by one, who was most taken notice of, *Franciscus Citesius*, the then *French* King, and *Cardinal Richeleiw*'s Physician; a very learned man was answered: who also wrote the story of one of these foodless, or if we may so call them, Aerial Spiritual creatures, which he calls, *Abstinans Consolentanea*: the book Printed in *Paris*, 1639. But besides him, I have also one, *Paulus Lentulus*, a learned Professor, he was then, *Bernæ Helvetiorum*, who hath written the History of one himself, and collected several relations, most, by men of note, as *Langius*, *Hildanus*, and others, (not omitting *Citesius* before spoken of, but contracted) concerning others, not a few, in other Countries. This book hath the attestation and *Encomium's* of many learned men prefixed: and hath the picture of one of them also; yet I cannot believe, that it is the book I saw in *Oxford*, which, as I remember, gave account of one only, and was, I think, a thicker book. Truly, it would be hard, if not proud and insolent,

lent, (Saint *Augustine*, in the like case, saith *impudent*) to question the faith, or judgment of so many credible men, (some, of eminent fame) of divers Nations and professions. But that which makes the case indisputable, is, that some of these, whose story is exhibited, have been long, or long enough to find the truth, kept and observed by Divines, Physicians, Magistrates: one, by *Maximilian* the Emperor, his great care, and particular appointment, (whose story is written by more than one) to see, whether there could be any fraud, or imposture. And besides, the very sight of some of them, might have converted, or silenced at least, the most *incredulous* obstinate creature in the world; their stomack, and bellies, whereof nature had no further use, being found so shrunk, that it was impossible to think, that meat and drink could there find a receptacle.

I WAS once kindly entertained at a place, (in *England*, but where, or by whom, except I had the consent of them, to whom I profess to owe much respect for their kindness, the Reader must excuse me) where after I had been some days, upon some information concerning a Gentlewoman, that had some relation to the house, though not then in the house, who was said to live without meat; I made bold to ask my friend, (a noble Knight) the Master of the house, what he knew of it. His answer was, that she had been his house-keeper, one month, he said, as I remember, and sat at his table every day, but had never seen her eat. This did set an edge upon my desire, and curiosity, to enquire further. This Gentlewoman had married one of his Sons, who lived and kept house by himself (there also have I been kindly entertained more than once) not many miles off. He was a Scholar, and a very ingenuous Gentleman, and one, who himself was as curious to understand as

much of nature, as by ordinary ſtudy and curioſity can be attained. His anſwer was, that ever ſince (ſome years, I am ſure) ſhe had been his wife, he never did obſerve her to eat otherwiſe, than that ſometimes, once in a week perchance, in handling of diſhes, ſhe would ſeize haſtily upon ſome one bit, which her *phancy* more, than her *ſtomack*, was tempted with. I make no queſtion, but if faithful *obſervations* were duly made, which was the way in ancient times, of all that hapneth extraordinarily in this one Country of *England*, we ſhould not need be beholding to ſtrangers ſo much, or at leaſt, would find leſs cauſe, in many things, to reject and contemn their relations, as *incredible* and fabulous. Sure, I am in moſt books that I have read, to underſtand what is not ordinary in the cauſe of nature; I find *England* often named, where I can find or hear of no *Engliſh*-man, to atteſt. In this very particular I am now upon, I have read of ſome, I am ſure, reported to have lived in *England* without either meat or drink; I know not how long, of whom I have read nothing in *Engliſh* Hiſtories. But I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to find where, having ſaid enough to ſatisfie them, who have not, by ſome ſolemn vow or reſolution, made themſelves impenetrable to reaſon. Yet, the ſtory of an *Engliſh* woman or maid, that lived, I think, twenty years without eating, written by *Roger Bacon*, the Reader may find, if he pleaſe, in the *Collection* before mentioned, for the truth whereof; though I doubt not the poſſibility, except otherwiſe confirmed, I will not engage. But whereas he doth fetch the cauſe from Heaven, or *Heavenly influences*, if he be in the right in that, this example will not ſo properly concern us, who pretend in this particular to nothing, but natural cauſes. I know there be alſo who aſcribe it to the *Devil*; neither will I deny the poſſibility of ſuch a thing. However, when

when natural causes may clear the business, except some unnatural circumstances, as sometimes it doth happen, perswade to the contrary; much better it is to let the *Devil* alone, than to fly to him for satisfaction.

BUT to return to our relations: I have said it before, and say it again: No man I think that will take the pains to read the books I have mentioned, with all the particulars which they contain, but will, what ever opinion he was of before, acknowledge himself satisfied of the truth, as to matter of fact. As to possibility in point of nature, I will not be so peremptory, though I acknowledge my self very fully satisfied, by those learned Tractates that have been set out about it, that it may be. Now that any (women most, to whom this hath happened) should after long sickness fall to this, and so continue, dull, heavy, consumptive in their bodies, and some without motion; and so, after some years, die; though strange even so, yet I do not see much to admire, but that it should so happen unto any; who nevertheless for some years have continued fresh and vigorous, with a good colour, and without any abatement of flesh without, or any other notable alteration; and have returned in time, to eating and drinking again, as other folks; as I think it happened to her, that was kept by *Maximilian*'s order; is that I most wonder at, and wherein we might with more probability suspect a *supernatural* cause, though herein also, I submit to better judgments, and believe as they do, that it may be, naturally. The matter is fully discussed by *Sennertus* also, a man of so much authority with me, and with all men, I think, whom new discoveries have not so besotted, as to think nothing right, but what is new; that he alone might go a great way to perswade me.

Marcellus Donatus also, *De Med. Hist. mirab. lib.* 4. c. 12. is very full upon it: and hath many instances: this among the rest: *That a certain Priest did live* 40. *years in* Rome *with Air only, as by the keeping of Pope* Leo, *and divers Princes, and the Narration and Testimony of* Hermol. Barbarus, *is most certain.*

HOWEVER, I am not so addicted to any cause, that I would allow of any indirect ways, to maintain it. To prove the *possibility*, among other arguments and instances, that are used, I shall here take notice of one, and what I have to except against it: not hence to infer against the cause it self, any thing, for which there is no just reason, this being but a remote and inconsiderable proof, in comparison of so many more pregnant and direct evidences: but to take this occasion, by the way, to shew, how testimonies should be examined, before we yield much to their authority. It is alledged by more than one, that there is a people in the North, about *Muscovia*, who constantly from such a day in *November*, to such a day in *April* following, hide in Caves of the Earth, and continue all that time without any food, but sleep. Now that this was averr'd to *Henry* the *III.* King of *France*, when in *Polonia*, by men of great quality, who lived in, or about those Countries, and might easily know the certainty, with great asseveration; this indeed, I believe, and is of great weight with me, (though I would not, upon no greater evidence, press, or perswade any other) to work somewhat towards a belief. *Sennertus*, I find, dares not peremptorily affirm it, for a truth; or much trust to it, for an evidence; as having much greater, and more wonderful things, which no man, he saith, can question, to prove the possibility of living, without eating, or drinking. Yet it doth appear by his words, though he feared it would (*multis fabulosum videri*) by many be slighted

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as a fable, yet that himself did much more incline to believe it, than not. And there be other relations of those Northern people, believed, I see, by sundry grave and learned men; which, to be compared, might seem every whit as strange and *incredible*. But because I do not make it my business here, to undertake for the truth of it, as I before professed; nor have any intention to entertain my Reader with strange relations, more than shall be necessary to my principal end; I shall willingly forbear them, or reserve them to another place. That which I have to except in the relation of this story is, that two Authors are named, *Gnagninus in Muscoviæ descriptione*; and *Sigismundus Baro, in Herbeirsten, in itineratio*: as two several Authors, and two several testimonies; whereas if we examine those Authors, they will appear in this, but one, not only by the words, which they borrow the one from the other; almost the same, in both: but also by *Gnagninus*, who at the end of his *Description*, doth make honourable mention of *Sigismundus*; whereby it doth appear that he had read him, and borrowed of him. But, what is worse, upon further examination, it will appear, that this *Sigismundus Baro*, saith no such thing at all himself, but hath that passage *verbatim*, out of an *Itinerarie* of a nameless Author, written in the *Ruthenick*-tongue: translated, or part of it, by himself, and inserted in his own *Commentaries*: and moreover, that he had, with all possible diligence (as he professeth, Page 89. of the *Antwerp* Edition, *Anno Dom.* 1557.) inquired of those *hominibus mutis*, and other, *morientibus & reviviscentibus*; those sleepers in Caves of the Earth before spoken of; yet professeth he could never meet with any, that could say he had seen it himself, but only heard it from others: and therefore saith he, (*Ut aliis ampliorem quærendi occasionem præberem*) to the end, that others

 might

might further enquire, not as believing it himself, or commending it to others for a truth; he was willing to let them know, what he had found in the *Itinerary*. It is almost incredible, what a wrong to *truth* this manner of citing of witnesses and testimonies hath been in all ages, when three or four, sometimes four or five, or more, are cited, as several witnesses, who upon examination prove but one, and perchance, not so much as one, good, or clear witness. But I have done with my first instance or example: which concerned things *natural*, as ordinarily taken; and though store of such offer themselves to me; yet, because I have reason to make what hast I can, being every day, by much weakness summoned, or put in mind; I will proceed to instances in things *supernatural*, which will better fit my design.

MY second instance therefore shall be out of *Seneca*, who in his fourth book of *Natural Questions*, which doth treat of *Snow*, *Hail* and *Rain*: in his sixth Chapter, relates rather as a *tale*, than a *truth*, (so he doth profess, at the beginning) what he found recorded, and believed by some others; to wit, that there were men in some places, who by observing of the clouds, were able and skilful to foresee and foretel, when a storm of Hail was approaching. *Cleonis* was the place, by him named; which was then the name of more places than one: but by what he saith of it, it should be a Town of the *Peloponnesus* (now *Morea*, under the Turk) of no very great fame, or name. But it seems, whether by the nature of the Climat, or somewhat else, *natural* or *supernatural*; very subject to storms of Hail, by which the fruits of the ground very commonly destroyed. It did so trouble them, that after many endeavours, it should seem, to prevent their loss, they at last found a strange remedy. First, it must be believed, according to the relation, that

that by diligent obſervation of the clouds and other temper of the skies, in ſuch ſtorms, which, to their great grief and damage, were ſo frequent among them; ſome men had attained to that skill, that they could, as was ſaid before, foretel a ſtorm. Of theſe men, ſome were choſen and appointed, as publick officers, (therefore called χαλαζοφύλακες; that is, *obſervers of the Hail*) to give warning to the people, who upon that warning did haſten to kill, ſome a Lamb; others, according to their abilities, *Pullum*: ſome young thing or other: probably, a *Chick*: the bloud whereof was offered, as a Sacrifice. But if any were ſo poor, or by chance, ſo deſtitute at that time, that he had neither *agnum* or *pullum*: why, then his way was to prick one of his fingers with ſome bodkin, or writing-ſteel (as the faſhion was then) that had a good point, and that bloud was accepted for other; and ſo the ſtorm certainly diverted. In the relation of this, *Seneca* doth uſe ſome merry words, which have deceived many, (which hath made me the more willing to take them into conſideration) as though it were far from him, to believe ſuch an abſurd and impoſſible thing. *Grant*, ſaith he, *there were ſuch men, that could foreſee and foretel a ſtorm: What relation have the clouds to bloud; or, how can ſuch a little quantity of bloud, as a Chicken, or a prickt-finger can afford, ſo ſuddenly penetrate ſo high, as the skies, to work ſuch an effect?* Yet if a man doth well obſerve his words, it will appear, that *Seneca* did more incline himſelf to believe it, and ſo doth propoſe it to us, rather as a thing true, than otherwiſe. For after he had ſaid, that men in the examination of the cauſe, were divided; ſome, as became *very wiſe men* (that is his word) abſolutely denying, that any ſuch thing could be, that men ſhould covenant with the Snow, and with ſmall preſents pacifie tempeſts, (though, ſaith he,

he, It is well known, that *the Gods themselves are overcome with gifts : for, to what end else, are all their sacrifices ?*) Others thinking, that there was in bloud, naturally, some kind of efficacy to repel, and avert a cloud; he doth further add, what he knew would be objected by others ; but how can, in so little bloud, be so great force, as to pierce the clouds, and to make them sensible of its power ? After this, knowing, and tacitly grounding, there was no arguing the possibility of a thing by reason, against certain evidence ; for which in this case there was so much to be said : *How much more safe, and ready would it be*, (saith he) barely *to say, It is a lye, an arrant lye ; it cannot be.* And then go on : But at *Cleonis*, they were wont to punish them severely, who had charge to prevent the tempest, if through their negligence, either their Vines, or their Corn had suffered. *In our XII. Tables also*, (the old *Roman*-law) *there was a law against them, who should by any kind of inchantment, hurt, or destroy other mens Corn.* To what end all this, think we, but to make it appear, that if *evidence* would carry it, there was enough to perswade us, the report of *Cleonis* was true enough. Yet after all this, fearing he had gone too far, to expose himself to the *ludibrium*, or derision of those *sapientissimi*, or *wonderful wise men*, who would believe nothing to be true, (the clear profession of the *Epicuræans* of those days) the cause whereof they could not understand ; to make some amends, he ends his discourse in the reproof, as it were, of *rude ignorant antiquity*, that could believe such things, as that there were *Charms* or *Spells* for the Rain, to be procured, or put back : which, saith he, is so clearly impossible, that we need not go to Philosophers, to know their opinion.

AS for *Seneca*'s meaning, whether I be in the right, or no, I shall not think my self much concerned ; let every

every man after diligent perusing of his words, judge as he pleaseth. Though this more, to make my interpretation of his words, more probable, I have to say, that it doth appear by other places, how fearful he was to utter any thing in this kind, that was not generally believed, though himself, in all probability, made little or no question of the truth. See but immediately before, how tenderly he doth propose, and not without an *Apology* for himself, lest he might be thought seriously to believe it, (which also made *Ovid* so fearful, though himself an eye-witness, to write it) that the Northern Seas are wont to freez, or to congeal, in the Winter-time. Let also *Pliny*'s words be considered, concerning this very thing; not the place, but the thing: *There be Spells against Hail*, saith he, *and Diseases*, and (*ambusta*, which he also calls, *ambustiones*: that is, πυρίκαυτα) *burnings*: *some of which have been tried*: (or, by experience, approved true) *Sed prodendo, obstat ingens verecundia*: that is, but to set down *particularly, a marvellous shame* (or *fear*) *doth hinder me, as well knowing the different opinions of men. Let every man therefore think of these things, as himself pleaseth.* So *Pliny*: whereby doth appear, that he durst not speak what he thought, and believed, lest he should undergo the reproach (those *Wonderful wise Epicuræans*; *Pliny* himself, a great favourer of their Sect; being very numerous, and in great credit in those times) of a writer of tales. But, as I said before, let *Seneca*'s meaning be what it will; as to the thing it self, though I will not undertake for the truth of it, according to every circumstance of *Seneca*'s relation, partly because I never saw the Records of that City my self, which haply *Seneca* did; and partly because *Plutarch*, who doth mention those, Χαλαζοφύλακες, or *observers of Hail*, doth not name any place, and instead of the bloud of a *Lamb* or *Chick*, doth mention

mention another kind of bloud: yet that there is no ſuch *impoſſibility* in the relation, but that it might be very true, ſo far I dare undertake, and I hope to make it good. Neither will it appear *incredible* to any man, who inſtead of a *natural*, will but allow us a *ſupernatural* cauſe. But firſt let us ſee what we can ſay, for the truth, or probability of the *fact*; or thing; and then let the Reader judge, what may probably be the *cauſe*. It ſeemeth that very anciently, ſuch an opinion hath been among men, *Romans* and *Grecians*, that by ſome *Magick* or *ſupernatural* art, (for the *Devil* was not ſo well known, in thoſe days, though *Dæmons*, which was an ambiguous word, as elſewhere I have ſhewed, were) ſtrange things might be wrought, as in the air, ſo upon the land, to further or hinder the fruits of the Earth. *Empedocles*, anciently, a notorious Magician, became very famous for his skill in that kind, ever ſince he helped the *Athenians*, when by unſeaſonable winds, all their Corn was like to miſcarry; as *Laertius*, and others, bear witneſs: from which time and thing, he got the title of κωλυσανέμης, or *wind-ſtiller*. Among other things, it was very generally believed, that *Witches* and *Magicians* had a power, or an art, to transfer both the crop and fertility of one field to another. *Meſſes hac atque illac transferunt diris tempeſtabibus, omneſque fructus, paucorum improbitas capit*; ſaith the Author of that Poem, or *Comedy*, ancient and elegant, commonly called *Querelas*: quite different from that in *Plautus*. And *Tibullus* long before, to the ſame purpoſe; *Cantus vicinis fruges traducit ab agris.* One *Caius Furius Creſinus*, a *Roman* of a mean fortune, whoſe grounds were obſerved to thrive ſo beyond meaſure, that he did reap more *ex agello*, or a little field, than his rich neighbours did, of ſundry large ones; was accuſed, that he did *fruges alienas pellicere veneficiis*; that is, *that by witchcraft he*

did

did rob other grounds, to enrich his own. It came to a trial, but he came of with great honour. *Pliny* is my Author.

BUT, by the way, it will, I hope, be no digression, to take notice of another story of his, which will not be impertinent to our present discourse, concerning this anciently believed *translation* of the fruits of the Earth, from one ground to another; and very pertinent to our main subject, of *Credulity* and *Incredulity*, of which *Pliny* doth afford more examples, than any other Author I know; and is very often wronged, and censured by men, through *Incredulity*, grounded upon ignorance. Many fabulous relations he hath, I know, from all kind of Authors, which himself made no other account of, for the most part. Nay, I am sure, he doth sometimes reject that for fabulous, which upon better consideration, will appear true enough. We may therefore think our selves beholding to him for the knowledge of many true things, which, if because accounted by him fabulous, he had taken no notice of in his Observations; we had never known. But, however those things may prove, or be judged, which he had from others; it can hardly be shewed, that he records any thing of his own time, or upon his own knowledge, that can be proved a lye: & it is well known, that being a man of great wealth, and dignity, wilfully and willingly he did adventure his life (and lost it, we know, in that adventure) the better to learn the truth, and, if possible, to discover the cause of some strange things: So heartily was he addicted to the study of *Nature*, and therefore more unlikely, he would wilfully, do the truth of Nature so much wrong, as to violate and defile it (willingly and wittingly) with fabulous narrations. But now to the story which himself doth call, (*Prodigium super omnia, quæ unquam credita sunt:*) *A prodigie beyond all prodigies,*

prodigies, that ever were believed; and yet delivered by him, as a true ſtory. In *Nero*'s time, he ſaith, it ſo happened, that a whole Olive-field was transferred, or carried to the other ſide of the high way, and the ploughed ground, that ſtood before in the adverſe ſide, ſet in the room. He doth not aſcribe it to any witchcraft: though it be ſo apprehended by ſome, that tell this ſtory after him: as *Ludovicus Vives* by name, for one. It is much more likely, that it happened, if true, (as I think very reaſonable to believe) by ſome ſtrange Earthquake, or motion of the ground, in thoſe parts, occaſioned by ſubterraneous winds, and vapours. Who hath not heard of Trees, and Rivers, removed from their proper place, and placed elſewhere, by Earthquakes? But if any be ſo *incredulous*, as not to believe *Pliny* in this: what will they ſay to *Machiavil*, an Hiſtorian without exception, that I know of, whatever his religion was; who tells us of a ſtorm in *Italy*, by which, beſides many other wonders, (I have not the original *Italian*) *Tecta, quæ templis inædificata erant; the roofs of Churches*, (he names two) *integrâ compagine, ultra milliare inde conſedere: were removed whole and entire, above an Italian mile*: *l. 6. p.* 3478. He doth indeed leave it free to the Reader, whether he will impute this ſtrange accident to a *natural* or *ſupernatural* cauſe; and to us, and our purpoſe, whether *natural* or *ſupernatural*, is indifferent. So much to give ſome light to that part of *Seneca*, that mentioneth, according to the phraſe of the *XII.* Tables, the *inchanting* of grounds, or fruits of the ground.

NOW to return where we begun; Extraordinary ſtorms of Hail; very prejudicial to the fruits of the Earth, which ſeemed ſupernatural; in theſe days *Seneca* ſpeaketh of happening very frequently: (I am much deceived, if *Geneva*, which in *Calvins* time was much infeſted

fested with *Witches*, hath not formerly known such *accidents*) Country people sought for remedy to such, as did deal in those things; by whom they were taught Rites and Sacrifices; as also *Spells* and *Charms*, which proved very helpful, and therefore used very frequently. In so much, as they that did write of *agriculture*, or, *De re rustica* in those days, did not think they did acquit themselves of what they promised sufficiently, if silent in these things: as particularly may appear by *Columella*, (not to mention others) not inferior unto any that hath written of that subject, either ancient or late; in his Tenth book, whereof he hath some receipts, not much unlike this in *Seneca*. Certain it is, that *Spells* and *Charms* were in such credit in those days for such uses, that even *Constantine the Great*, a Christian Emperor, when he made Laws against *inchantments*; he doth except those, that were for the preservation of the fruits of the Earth, and those that were made, or used against *Hail*, particularly: *Cod. l.* 9. *tit.* 18. inscribed, *De Maleficis, & Mathematicis*; which, according to the stile of those days, was as much as *magis*. In the fourth Chapter, or Paragraph, *De magia*; these words are; *Nullis vero criminationibus implicanda sunt remedia, humanis quæsita corporibus, aut in agrestibus locis, innocenter adhibita suffragia*: (Some might by that word perchance, understand *Ecclesiastical prayers*; but here of necessity, *Magical Spells and Charms*, must be understood, which he doth excuse only, for the good that they do) *ne maturis vindemiis metuerentur imbres, aut venti, grandinisque lapidatione quaterentur: quibus non cujusquam salus aut æstimatio læderetur, sed quorum proficerent actus, ne divina munera, & labores hominum sternerentur.* I think I shall not need to English this, because the substance of it is already expressed. Neither did this Law die with *Constantine*; for it was renewed by

by ſome Emperors after him, though at laſt, as it well deſerved, repealed and abrogated. And God forbid, any ſuch thing ſhould ever be allowed in any place, that pretends to Chriſtianity. For beſides that we muſt not *do evil that good may come of it*; where ſuch wicked practices are ſuffered, though ſome preſent benefit may be reaped for a while, yet the curſe of God will be found, ſooner or later, to light upon the place; and for ſome benefit, unjuſtly purchaſed, many miſchiefs, (if not utter deſtruction, through Gods juſt judgment) will enſue. However, that the opinion of miſchief, done by *Witches* and *Magicians*, by ſtorms of Hail particularly, did continue long after *Conſtantine*'s law was repealed, may appear by laws made againſt them in after ages: as particularly by *Lodovicus*, King of *France*, and Emperor of *Germany*, his *Additions* to the *Capitula* made by him, and his father *Charles* the *Great*, *Add. II. c.* 18. *de diverſis malorum* (ſo printed, but *Magorum* certainly is the right) *flagitiis*.

I THINK by this that hath been ſaid, it will not ſeem ſtrange, that any Town, in thoſe Heatheniſh times, ſhould have ſuch officers, as from their office ſhould be called Χαλαζοφύλακες, *or Hail obſervers*: eſpecially, when *Seneca* doth in a manner appeal to publick records. But that ſuch a device, the *bloud of a Lamb*, of a *Chick*, or a *prickt-finger*, ſhould have ſuch operation, as to prevent the danger; may be a wonder indeed, yea, an *incredible* thing to them that do not know, or believe there be ſuch creatures, as *Devils* and *Spirits* in the world; whoſe delight is, to abuſe mankind with ſuch fopperies, that whileſt men aſcribe the efficacy to ſome outward things, they may leſs ſuſpect themſelves, or be ſuſpected by others, to work by unlawful means, and get an ill name, if no other puniſhment for it.

LEONARD Vair, in his book of *Charms*, hath a

a relation of a ſtrange cuſtom, in ſome places, very well known to him, it ſeems; for he ſpeaks of it with much indignation; (in *Spain* or *Italy*, we may be ſure) which cuſtom is; when Country-people will drive Graſhoppers, or any ſuch hurtful Vermin (frequent in that Country, probably) out of their grounds; they hire a *Conjurer* for Judge, and two Advocates; the one to plead the cauſe of the Vermin, the other of the people, which ſolemnly performed, at laſt, ſentence of *Excommunication* is pronounced againſt the Vermin. Thus the Devil, by his inſtruments, *Conjurers* and *Sectaries*, doth endeavour to bring the moſt ſolemn Ceremonies of the Church, even the Sacraments (whereof examples in books of this argument are very obvious) into contempt. *Vair* doth not tell us, with what ſucceſs: but by what we ſhall obſerve in due place, as occaſion doth offer it ſelf; the Reader will yield it very probable, that it is not, ſometimes at leaſt, without ſucceſs; and how little reaſon any man hath to be ſcandalized at ſuch things, ſhall be fully argued, before we end this firſt part. But it would pleaſe ſome, better perchance, to hear of ſomewhat meerly *natural*, that ſhould have, or be reported to have the ſame effect, which we aſcribe to the power of *Devils* and *Spirits*. I have ſome Authors for it, but believe it who will, (though I profeſs to believe much of the vertues of Plants and Minerals, if Coral may be reckoned among them) that *red Corals* have the ſame property: and that in *Germany*, many husbandmen, upon approved experience, will after ſowing, here and there, but eſpecially in the borders of their grounds, ſcatter ſome little broken pieces of *red Coral*; and by that means preſerve their own from all hurt, when their neighbours grounds, round about, are much annoyed by the violence of either Hail or Thunder. My Author, as I take it, is a *German* himſelf: he

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might easily have known the truth. He makes himself a great *peregrinator*, to satisfie his Curiosity, or improve his knowledge in *natural* things. Such a thing as this, me-thinks, had he had any hopes to find it true, might have been worth his labour, though he had rode many miles, and he might have had the thanks and blessings of many for such a discovery, had it been certain. This makes me very much to suspect, if not affirm, that it is but a tale. I have read of women too, somewhere, who upon such occasions, use to cast up salt in the air, which is more probable: but with what success, or upon what ground, I can give no account.

BUT if after all this, not yet fully satisfied with such instances, as the old known world hath afforded, we will take the pains, to search the Records of the new world, there we shall meet with *Seneca's* case very punctually; the *bloud* of men offered unto Devils (their Gods) to preserve their Corn, and other fruits, from Hail-storms, and Tempests. Witness *Petrus Martyr Mediolanensis, De Insulis nuper inventis*; whose testimony, not to seek further, we may rest upon, as a very credible witness.

BUT to proceed, and so to end this particular, which *Seneca* gave us the occasion of; That Devils can raise storms and tempests (if God permit) by their own power and skill, when they please; they that believe the History of *Job*, will make no great question: and if *Devils*; *Witches* also by his power; as all that have written of *Witches*, who believe there be such, averr, and give many instances. As for rain, mentioned by *Seneca*, (though his words sound otherwise to me, than to any by whom I find him quoted: let the Reader judge by what I have said of it before) as, *the dotage of antiquity*; as of Hail, so of Rain, I find none that have written of *Witches*, and believe them, but determine it affirmative-

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ly, that the Devil hath the power of that alſo, God permitting, when he will. To paſs by ordinary inſtances: *Dion Caſſius*, a very ſerious Hiſtorian, hath a relation of plenty of rain, in time of greateſt neceſſity, by which a *Roman* Army, was as it were, miraculouſly preſerved; procured by *Magick*. Which, with *Baronius*, I ſhould be very inclinable to believe to have been done by the prayers of *Chriſtians*, as under *Aurelius Antoninus*; acknowledged even by Heathen writers; it once happened: But that the Chronology will not, I doubt, agree: Chriſtianity was not ſo ancient in thoſe parts, I believe. We have now gone through all the particulars of *Seneca*'s relation: I ſhall only add, I do not believe, that *Cleonæ* (for the word is differently written) by the ſcituation of the place, was more ſubject to *Hail*, than any other place; but the *Devil* by ſome chance of opportunity, having once got this ſuperſtition there eſtabliſhed, he would be ſure they ſhould not want occaſion to continue it; which muſt be, by frequent Hail threatned; and probably he did ſo order it, of purpoſe, in the air, that they might eaſily ſee, without any Conjuring for it, when a ſtorm was coming.

IN the next place, I ſhall take notice of a relation in *Philoſtratus*, (an Author, though fabulous in thoſe things, that concerned his main deſign, to make a God, of a *Magician*; yet for ſome ſtrange relations, once ſuppoſed falſe, now approved true, well deſerving to be read) and his conceit, or Comment upon the relation. The Relation is this, how *Apollonius* being in Priſon by *Domitian*'s command, and one of his legs fettered; *Damis* that attended him, began to be much out of heart, and doubtful of the iſſue. Whereupon *Apollonius*, to revive him, ſhewed him his leg out of the fetters; and when *Damis* had ſufficiently viewed it, looſe, and free; of his own accord he put it into the fetters, or

ſtocks (δεσμῶν) again. Whereupon *Damis* doth infer, that ſurely, becauſe he did it with ſuch eaſe, without any *previous prayer* or *ſacrifice*, that he muſt be more than a man. Now, that this might probably be done by *Apollonius*, we may believe, ſince he did much more afterwards, which by *Chriſtian* Fathers, and *Hiſtorians* is acknowledged, when being brought out of priſon, as a criminal, to the Court-*hall*, or place of Judgment, *Domitian* being preſent, he vaniſhed out of ſight, and was at the ſame time ſeen far from the place, but not in priſon any more. The relation then admitted, or ſuppoſed: what is *Philoſtratus* his deſcant upon it? *The ſimpler ſort*, ſaith he, *aſcribe ſuch things* ἐς γόητας, to *Witchcraft* or *Magick*: πεπόνθασι δ' αὐτὸ ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων· that is, (not as the Latin interpreter, though not much amiſs to the ſenſe, *Quas ad plurimas rerum humanarum proficere arbitrantur*) *and ſo they judge of many other things, that happen in the World among men.* He goes on: *The publick wreſtlers and fencers, out of a greedineſs to be victorious, they have a recourſe unto this*: (*Witchcraft* or *Magick*) *but the truth is, they are not at all the better for it, when they have done*: *but if by chance* (or *providence*: ἀπὸ τύχης, ſo is the word often taken, as I have ſhewed elſewhere by ſome examples, to which many more may be added) *they happen to prevail, wretched men* (κακοδαίμονες) *bereaving themſelves of the praiſe, aſcribe it to the arts. And in caſe they be worſted*, (ἡττώμενοι σφῶν: what that σφῶν makes here, I do not underſtand: till ſome body tell me, I ſhall make bold to read, ἀπιςοῦσι δ' αὐτῇ οὐδ' ἡττώμενοι. ῎Αφρων or ἄφρον. ᾿Ει γὰρ τὸ δεῖναι ἔθυσα) *yet will they not miſtruſt the art. Fool, will they ſay: for had I but offered ſuch a ſacrifice, or burnt ſuch incenſe, I could not have miſſed of the victory.* And ſo he goes on, that it is ſo with *Merchants* and *Lovers*: and how they ſuffer themſelves to be cheated by theſe *Sophiſters*, as

he

he calls them. They that will read this Author, may not trust to the Latin Translation; no, nor to the Greek Text, as now printed. I wish some body had undertaken the printing of it, in my time; they might have had it more correct and intelligible, in many places, than it is, in any Edition I have seen. But, to the business. He would not have it thought, that *Spells* and *Charms* can do any thing: there was a reason for it. He knew, *Apollonius* did deal in such things, as could not be ascribed to *natural* causes: so that he could not avoid the suspition of a *Magician*, if there were any such thing as *Magick*. Now, if once granted, that all, who pretended to such things, were but *impostors*, and could do nothing, really; then it must of necessity follow, that *Apollonius*, what he did, did by *the finger of God*, and was a divine man. Though we deny not, but there have always been, and are now; in *England*, I believe, not a few; *London* especially; *Morlins*, and others, who have a way to cheat and abuse silly people; (whether rich or poor, I call them so, that are so easily caught) making them believe, they can do great things, whereas, in very deed, all they do, (except they deal by the *Devil*, as *Apollonius* did) is but cozenage and delusion: yet this discourse of *Philostratus* notwithstanding, if we search the Records of Antiquity, we shall find, that in those days, and before, as it was very ordinary for them, who did strive for victories publickly, either in the *Circus*, by racing, or any way else, by any kind of game or exercise; to apply themselves to *Witches* and *Magicians*, that by their help, they might be sure of the game; so, not unusual also, for men to prevail, by those arts. Which gave occasion to *Constantius*'s law, *De maleficis comprehendendis*; where learned *Gothofred* his note is; *Agitatores equorum plerique*, &c. that is, *Most horse-racers of those times, by*

magical arts, at times, did hinder their adversaries horses, and made their own swifter, as St. Jerome *in the life of St.* Hilarion; Arnobius, contra Gentes, *and* Cassiodore *in the third of his* Varia, *bear witness.* So he. We shall have a proper place afterwards, to consider of St. *Jeromes* words here cited, which are very pregnant, and apposite to prove the thing; but otherwise, might cause further doubt and wonder, and therefore must not be passed over in silence. But besides those quoted by *Gothofred*, there be others of as great, or greater antiquity, and authority, that bear witness to the same truth. *Ammianus Macellinus*, in his 26. History, doth record, that one *Hilarius*, a horse-racer, was put to death by *Apronianus*, then Governour of *Rome*, a man, he saith, of equal integrity and severity; for being convicted, to have sent his son to a *Magician*, to be taught by him, *(secretiora quædam legibus interdicta) certain secret Spells and Charms* (so I take it) *by which without any mans knowledge, he might be assisted, and enabled to compass his desires, in the way of his profession.* St. *Augustine* also writeth of himself, that at a time, when he prepared to make a party in a singing-prize or match, upon the Theater, (not then, a Priest, or in Orders, you may be sure) an *aruspex* (or *Magician*: so taken sometimes) offered him for a good reward, to make him *victor*: which he professeth he did abhor, and detest. But I must not conceal from the Reader, that *Galen* whose judgment, in such a case, must needs be very considerable, seems to deride such things, and particularly, that by such devices any man should be enabled, (ἐκεῖνα γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ γελοῖα, καταδῆσαι τοὺς ἀντιδίκους, ὡς μηδὲν ὅλω τῷ δικανικῷ δυνήσεσθαι φθέγξασθαι, &c.) *to confound his enemy, in publick Courts and places of Judicature, and to stop their mouths, that they shall not be able to speak.* He doth indeed; but then it was, when in general he denied all

Magical

Magical or *Supernatural* operations, and, as a *rational* Physician, and *Naturalist*, in which profession he was accounted the wonder of his age, he thought himself bound to deny, whatsoever had not, as he speaks in more than one place, Ουδένα λόγον ἱατρικόν: *a probable reason to satisfie a rational man.* Yet the same man afterwards, upon further experience, and better consideration, fearing also (probably) the reproach and derision of men, for his obstinate *incredulity*, did nobly recant, and acknowledge his error, as we shall shew afterwards.

BUT to go on as we began: we read besides, that at the *Olympick* games, the greatest and most solemn conflux of mankind, that hath been known, either before or since; and the records whereof, were accounted most authentick; a certain *Milesian* of known valour or ability, being to wrestle with an *Ephesian*, he could do nothing, because the *Ephesian* had about him, Ἐφέσια γράμματα, that is, certain Spells or Charms, so called, *The Ephesian letters*: which being suspected, and taken from him, he was thrown by his adversary, no less than thirty times. So *Eustathius* upon the 19. *Odissic.* *Suidas* hath the same relation; but there, the Text both, and the Translation had need to be corrected: a little will do it, (τριακοντάκις for τριάκοντα) that sense may be made of it. That there be, even now, *Spells* and *Charms*, when God is pleased to give way, (which in all things, wrought by the Devil, must always be understood) to make men *invulnerable*, no man, I think, upon the attestation of so many creditable witnesses, can rationally doubt. Learned *Sennertus*, in his book *De vulneribus*, begins his 24. Chapter thus; *Cum nihil hodie*, &c. that is, *Whereas there is nothing more ordinary, now adays, among Souldiers, than by certain Pentacula, and Seals, and Characters, to fence themselves, and to make them-*

selves inviolable against all kind of arms, and musquet-bullets, &c. and so far was he from suspecting, that any body that knew any thing of the world, would make a question of the truth of it, that omitting that disquisition, as needless and ridiculous, he presently falls upon that, whereof only he thought question could be made; *An liceat Christiano*, &c. *Whether it be lawful for a Christian by certain Amulets, or Seals, fastned to the body, or the like, to make himself inviolable to any kind of arms.* Some take upon them to limit, how far the *Devils* power, in point of reason, may extend in this kind; as I remember a learned man doth, who hath written the life of *Monsieur de la Nove*, a *French* Gentleman of great fame. So doth *Sennertus* too: he tells of many particular cases, for which no reason can be given, but experience; wherein, and whereby the power of those Spells is eluded or frustrated. But I think the truest limitation, is, *so far as God will permit, or give leave.* For I doubt not, but the Devil can do much more, as he is a Spirit, by his own skill and power, than to preserve a single man, even from Canon-shot. It is much more strange, which yet I believe true, that whole Armies of men, (God then, not without good cause certainly, permitting) have been defeated by his power, as by several Historians and others, the relation whereof, because obvious enough, I shall here omit, is averred: and some others made victorious as strangely: in all which things, though set on work by men also, I look upon him, but as Gods executioner; without whose leave and permission, whatever his power be, by his nature, he cannot hurt the meanest man. They that desire to be further satisfied in this particular, may read *Delrio*, the Jesuite, if they please; in his *Magical Disquisitions.* Yet I will not say, that I believe every thing, that he doth propose as true: it may be his faith, doth in some

things

things extend much further than mine: but I would have the quality of his witnesses well considered; and if they will not (I think they do) avail to a certainty in this point; there be others that may be consulted, whom no man, that I know, hath gone about to contradict, or challenged of falshood, except it be in the way of those *incredulous wise men*, of whom *Seneca* speaketh, (*Mendacium est: fabula est*) *it is a lye: it is a lye. I will not believe it.* But I name him before any other, because every where to be had.

I HAVE already gone further than I needed, to make good my censure of *Philostratus*, or *Damis*, in *Philostratus*, his false and deceitful judgment, concerning the power of *Magick*, to offend, or to defend, in several cases, which hath occasioned us, all this discourse. The Reader I hope will acknowledge himself satisfied, that he was in the-wrong, if he did think so, really.

NOW as I have hitherto argued against *Incredulity*, in this particular; so will I also give some examples of too much *Credulity*, in the same business, as I conceive, and why I think so. A learned man that hath written, *De Idololatria Magica*; *Photius*, saith he, *in Olympiodoro narrat.* No, not so, but, *Olympiodorus, in Photio*: it is not *Photius*, that is the Author of the tale; he saith nothing of it; but *Olympiodorus*, barely; whose words about that, and divers other things, he doth, as out of other Authors, only transcribe. Well, what saith *Olympiodorus*? That in *Rhegium*, over against *Sicily*, there was a *Magick*-Statue, or a Statue made by Art-*Magick*, to avert the burnings of Mount *Ætna* in *Sicily*, and to keep the Islands from the invasion of barbarous Nations: which Statue being broken by one *Æsculapius*, Governor of it under *Constantius*, the Emperor; the Island was grievously annoyed by both; those *burnings*, and

and the *Barbares*. As much is ſaid by the ſame Author, of three other Statues, to ſecure the Empire from the eruption of the *Barbares*. That the ſaid learned man gave ſome credit to this, as that ſuch Statues were made, and that they were effectual to that end, may be gathered by his words. *Poſtea Diabolus, &c.* But I will not much ſtand upon that: it may be he did not intend it. Before I paſs my judgment, concerning the thing, as to the efficacy of ſuch Statues: I muſt acknowledge, that I eaſily grant, that ſuch Statues made by *Art Magick*, and to ſuch ends, have been anciently. For beſides what is here related by *Olympiodorus*; *Gregorius Turonenſis*, Biſhop of the ſame Town, in his Hiſtory, *lib.* 8. *Cap.* 33. where he deſcribes a general conflagration of the City of *Paris*, (but not comparable to that of the City of *London*, of freſh and horrible memory) which happened in his time; at the end of that Chapter, he hath theſe words, *Aiebant hanc urbem conſecratam fuiſſe antiquitus*, &c. that is, *It was reported, that this Town had formerly been conſecrated, that no fire ſhould prevail in it, no ſerpent, no glis*, (a Dormouſe properly; but I take it here for a Rat; I have ſome reaſon for it; but I will not ſtand upon it) *ſhould be ſeen. But now lately, when a Vault belonging to the Bridge, was cleanſed, and the ſullage, that filled it was carried away; a braſs Serpent, and a braſs Rat were found in it: which being taken away, both Serpents and Rats, without number, have appeared; neither hath it been free from the violence of fire.* So he beſides: *Leo Affricanus* in his Ninth book, of the deſcription of *Africa*, where he treats of the River *Nilus*; out of ancient writers of thoſe parts, doth relate, that in ſuch a year of the *Hegira*, ſuch and ſuch being Governours; there was in the rubbiſh of an *Ægyptian* Temple, found a Statue of Lead, of the bigneſs (and form, I ſuppoſe) of a *Crocodile*, graven with *Hieroglyphick*

phick letters, and by certain constellations contrived against Crocodiles, which being broken in pieces by command of the Governour, Crocodiles began to lay wait for men. But again: the Author of the Geography, commonly known by the name of *Geographia Nubiensis*; in high credit with all men, that are studious of the *Arabick*-tongue, in his fifth part of the third *Climat*, (for so he doth divide his book) *Of the Country Hems*, saith he, *the Metropolitan Town is Hems*, (whether *Emissa* or *Hemesa*, of the Ancients, I am not now at leisure to consider) *which by witchcraft and inchantment is so fenced, that no Serpents, or Scorpions can have entrance, and in case any be brought to the Gates, they die presently.* Then he tells us of a *horse-mans Statue*, set upon a *high arch* in the middle of the Town, turning every way according to the wind: and of the picture of a *Scorpion*, in one of the stones of the arch: to which painted, or carved Scorpion, if any man, bitten by a *Scorpion* or *Serpent*, apply dirt or morter, and afterwards, that dirt or morter, to his wound or bitten place; he is presently cured. But this is beyond my scope, as well as my belief. But of the horse-mans Statue, or picture of Scorpion, in the wall; being so confirmed by other parallel stories, I think it may be believed. Had we any certainty of the Ancient *Palladium* of *Troy*, I should have begun there. But out of all question, we may conclude, that such Magical Statues have been found in more than one place: and not improbable, that the *Devil*, as he is a great emulator of Gods works, but not his holiness, might have a respect to the *brazen-Serpent*, set up in the wilderness by Gods appointment. But of the efficacy of those Statues, according to relations, we may very well make a question: neither will History make good, if well examined, all that is written of them. Neither is it probable, that the *Devil*, who can do nothing to

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annoy or protect men, without permission, can warrant any such things, as are reported, for the time to come, except he could beforehand by some *natural* or *supernatural* observations of his own (as in many prophesies of his, concerning things to come) find out the mind, or counsel of God in those particulars; or that God, or some good Angels subordinate to God, and privy to his will and determination in those things, had revealed it unto him; neither of which is very likely. And that which makes it more unlikely, is, that even those, who to become invulnerable, have had recourse to the Devil, or his agents, and have enjoyed the benefit of their purchase for some time, even to admiration; yet have found themselves, on a sudden destitute of it, to their great astonishment, and have miserably perished in their confidence, as is observed by more than one, who have written of that subject. How then should he be able to warrant any Town or City, and make his promise good for many ages?

WHAT I intended, to wit, a full consideration, or refutation rather of *Philostratus* his assertion, is, I hope, sufficiently performed.

OUR next instance shall be from *Josephus*, the *Jewish* Historian, highly esteemed, both by *Romans* and *Grecians*, and by one that could judge of good books, as well as any man of this, or former ages, stiled, *Diligentissimus, & φιλαληθέστατος omnium Scriptorum: The most diligent and greatest lover of truth of all writers*; sacred always excepted, we must understand. This *Josephus* in his Eight book of *Jewish* Antiquities, and second Chapter, where he treats of *Solomon's* wisdom, and exquisite knowledge of Nature; following the tradition of the *Jews* of those days, who because they were great *exorcists* themselves, and dealed much in *Spells* and *Charms* of all kinds, (so that from them the Heathens received divers,

divers, extant in their books to this day) to countenance their unlawful practices, did perswade men, that *Solomon* was the founder of what they falsly called, *Natural Magick*: to magnifie this Art, and the power of it, *Iosephus* doth there produce a notable instance, which is this: How, that on a time, himself being present, one *Eleazer*, before *Vespasian*, and his *Sons* (or *Children*) and the chiefest Officers of the Army, did cast out *Devils* from several that were possest; and to satisfie the company, there was no jugling in the business, commanded the *Devils*, as they went out, to do somewhat, which might witness the presence of a *supernatural* power. To bring this to pass, this dispossession I mean, besides words, there was some other mystical action: that was, the applying of a certain ring to the nose of the possessed, under the seal of which ring, a piece of root was inclosed, which was believed (so reported, at least) to be of singular efficacy to drive out Devils. The name of the root is not there set down by *Iosephus*; but in another book, *De bello Iudaico, lib.* 7. *Cap.* 23. he doth name it, *Baaras*, and withal doth tell strange things of it, what danger it is, to pull it out of the Earth, except such and such ceremonies and cautions, which I forbear here, be used. Now that in all this *Iosephus*, though his report, to some may seem, both ridiculous and *incredible*, and is, I know, by some rejected as meerly fabulous, which made me pitch upon it the rather; yet that in all this, he doth deal *bona fide*, truly and sincerely: as I believe my self, so I hope to give good and convincing reasons, why others also, who pretend to reason, as the trial of truth, should believe. First, that such a thing was really done before

Vespasian,

Vespasian, the *Roman* Emperor, as he relates it; they that know that *Josephus* was a man as nobly born; so of great credit at the Court, and in great favour with *Vespasian* himself; how can they rationally doubt? He must be supposed more than a mad man, that durst write such a forged story, and attest persons of that quality for the truth; had it been a thing of his own devising, nay had he lyed in any circumstance of it. As for that he writes of that *root* or herb, that it hath such properties, such vertues, how to be pull'd out of the earth, and where to be found, &c. whether true or no, must not be laid upon his account, as I conceive, because in that, trusting the relation of men, whom he took to be real honest men in their profession, and to work by natural means, himself professing no skill or insight in that art; it is enough that in all he saith of it, there is nothing, but what was generally believed, or at least reported and famed, not among the *Jews* only, but *Grecians* also, and others that were *Gentiles*. The name of the herb, he saith, was *Baaras*: and what is that, (from באר or בהר: I need not tell them, that have any skill in the tongue) but ἀγλαόφωτις in Greek: which herb is acknowledged by all, or most that write of herbs. *Josephus* saith of it, it will with some adjurations, expel *Devils*: *Pliny* saith, or *Democritus* rather, in *Pliny* it is a Magical herb, which *Negromancers* or *Magicians* use to raise *the Gods*: that is, in the phrase of our times, *Spirits*. *Josephus* saith, there is great danger in the pulling up of it. One way he doth mention, is, by uncovering the root so far, that it may have but little hold in the ground, and then tying a dog to it, so that the dog may easily draw it out with him, when he thinks to follow his Master going away, as he followed him thither. But if the report be true, the dog comes short of his reckoning, or rather doth much more than what he thinks he

doth.

doth. For when he thinks to follow him, he doth his Master a better service; he dieth for him, who otherwise (if the report be true, as before) could not have out-lived the boldness of his attempt. A strange story, but not of *Josephus's* contriving, nor by *Josephus* only believed. The very same, as to the substance, is recorded by *Ælianus* also: *De Histor. animal. lib.* 14. *cap.* 27. more fully, and, as his manner is, with studied elegancy. He doth also give it another name, taken from this very ceremony, or action, κυνόσπαστος, that is, *dog-drawn.* The Latin interpreter doth somewhat contract the relation, for which I do not, seeing he hath all the substance, much blame him, it being almost impossible to express all in another tongue without an unpleasing redundancy, except the sweetness (next unto sweet musick, to curious ears) of the *collocution* (a grand mystery of the so much admired *Sophisters* or *Orators* of those times, their Rhetorick, as elsewhere I have declared at large) could have been exhibited also. But again, *Josephus* saith, the herb grew in *Judea*: *Democritus*, in *Pliny* saith, in *Arabia*: but this is easily reconciled, and is done very fully, by learned men: and had *Democritus* said in *Ægypt* or *Æthiopia*, there is enough besides, to satisfie any man, that *Baaras* was a known herb, to those effects by him mentioned, among men of that profession, whom *Josephus*, (a learned pious man, but herein too *credulous*, but not the first or only pious and learned, that hath been deceived in such) accounted holy religious men, but in very truth, no better, (as how many at this day) than cheaters, and impostors, to what they pretended; by some others, of those times, who had considered of it better than *Josephus*, rightly called, *præstigiatores* and *magi*. Now *Josephus* so far acquitted, that he had no intention to deceive, but was deceived himself by others; if any will be so curious, as

to know what truth there is, or then was, for the reports concerning that herb; that there is ſuch an herb, which for ſome kind of *reſplendency*, may be called *Aglaophotis*, is by all *Botanicks*, or *Herbariſts* I have ſeen, acknowledged. And if it be a kind of *Peony*, as is averred by divers, which againſt the falling-ſickneſs is known to be of excellent vertue, it is leſs to be wondred, that for this very reaſon, it was firſt ſuppoſed to be of ſome vertue againſt *Devils* and *Dæmons*, the nature of this diſeaſe being ſomewhat *extraordinary*, and by ſome formerly ſuppoſed to proceed from ſome extraordinary cauſe; for which reaſon it was alſo called, ἱερὰ νόσος, or, *morbus ſacer*, *the ſacred diſeaſe*; and not only ſuppoſed to proceed, but alſo certainly known ſometimes to be accompanied with *extraordinary ſupernatural* effects; yea plainly, *Diabolical*: whereof I have given ſome inſtances in my Treatiſe of *Enthuſiaſm*. So far the miſtake then might be tolerable: but for the reſt, the danger of plucking it out of the ground with the root, and the means uſed to prevent it, this by the experience of beſt *Herbariſts* of theſe days, being found falſe, and fictitious; we muſt look upon it, as the meer invention of Magicians and Impoſtors to inhance the credit of their Drugs, and to ſerve the Devil by the increaſe of ſuperſtition; whereof examples are ſo obvious (in great Towns, as *London* eſpecially) as no man needs to wonder at it.

BUT yet let us ſee, what may be ſaid, even for that, not altogether improbable perchance; ſo they that are not ſo much experienced, will the better know by this example, how to examine the truth of things, and to diſtinguiſh between *certainty*, and *probability*, or *poſſibility*. Do not we to this day find things, which they call *Empirica* and *Specifica*, in the writings of very ſober Phyſicians, that may ſeem as ſtrange? As for example,

The

The rindes of the root of *Elder*, pull'd off from the upper part, shall purge by vomit: from the lower, by stools. The brain of a Ram, with some other ingredients, a good medicine against madness; provided that the Ram be a *virgin Ram* (*virginity*, an ordinary caution, in diabolical exploits, to blind the world, as afterwards shall be observed) and that his head be cut off at one blow. I find this in *Sennertus*: the other in *Anatomia Sambuci*, printed in *London*: where the Author thinks, but doth not affirm, that this happily may be ascribed to some *Idiosyncracy*, either of the body of the patient, or of the humor, that causeth the disease; or perchance, to the strength of imagination. And even *Galen*, such an hater of all that resented of any superstition, and rigid exacter of reason; he recanted afterwards, we shall shew; but even whilest he was so, in his Tenth book, *De compositione Pharmacorum*, where among others, he doth set down a remedy against the stone in the bladder; *This remedy*, saith he, must be prepared with a kind of *religious observation*: *For the ingredients must be beaten, or bruised in a wooden-morter with a wooddden-pestle; and he that beats, must not have any Iron about him, either in his fingers, or shooes.* And this he calls a *mystery*, which he saith he learned from a Rustick. But should I here take notice of those strange things, and wonderful effects of herbs, which no less a man than *Matthiolus* tells of, in his *Dedicatory Epistle* to his *Herbal* for truth; what hath been written of the herb *Baaras*, would be acknowledged very *credible*, in comparison, I dare say. Yet I believe our modern *Herbarists*, that experience doth teach them the contrary. Well, but doth it follow necessarily, that if it be not found so, now: therefore it was never so? Yes, if we stick to the true reall nature, or natural effects of the Herb.

But who knows, but that the Devil might abuse the Magicians of those days, in that kind, making them believe, that those strange effects (for of that I make no question) did proceed from the natural properties of the very *herb*, thus and thus observed; which doth not hold at this day ; as I dare say there be many superstitions about Herbs and Plants, now in force among men of that wicked profession, which were not known in former times. There is nothing in all this, but is very *possible* ; and if I said *probable*, it might be justified. But considering how many things in this kind, are to be found in the books of old Magicians, as *Democritus*, and others, which upon trial, even in those days, were found false; and because we would not multiply wonders, where there is no necessity, that when there is, as we conceive, we may speak with more authority, and be believed; I shall rather stick to my former judgment, that it was but a fiction of the *Magicians* of those days, to add credit and reverence to their art.

BUT now I turn to the men of these times ; the *wits*, as they call themselves, and by some others, for want of real wit, and good learning, are so *called* ; who because they believe nothing but what is palpable and visible, deny therefore *Spirits* and all *supernatural* effects ; and consequently the truth of all relations, wherein *supernatural* causes are ingaged ; what will these men say, to this of *Josephus* ? That he did invent what he recordeth to have been done, before such witnesses ? What reason can they give, for such a senseless supposition ? Or that the eyes of so many were deceived, who thought they saw, what was not truly and really to be seen ? But then how deceived ; by what means, *natural* or *supernatural* ? It poseth me to think what they can pretend, why we should not *believe*. Yet I will suppose that somewhat they will say : if nothing else, yet this, that it is an old

story

ſtory, and therefore they are not bound to believe it. A worthy anſwer for men that pretend to *reaſon*. But I will ſee, if I can fit them with a later, to the ſame purpoſe, and as irrefragable, as I account that old.

ANDREAS Laurentius, a late and learned Phyſician, well known to the world by his writings, in his book *De Strumis*, or *Kings Evil*, printed in *Paris*, *Anno Dom.* 1609, and dedicated to *Henry* the Fourth, of late Glorious memory; in his firſt book, ninth Chap. where he treateth of the power of the *Devil*, to cauſe, or to heal diſeaſes, at large; he hath there this ſtory: *The moſt Chriſtian King*, ſaith he, (the very ſame to whom the book is dedicated) *did ſee a Ruſtick* (or Country Clown) *who by the incenſe, or ſmoak of a certain herb, in a moment, as it were, would cure all that were ſick of the Kings Evil. He made them vomit, ſo that they did caſt much pituitous ſtuff, and with it certain little creatures, which he ſaid* were the (*germina*) *buddings* (or *ſeminaries* perchance) *of the diſeaſe. This I have heard more than once from the Kings own mouth, when he did enquire the reaſon from me. Beſides the King, Monſieur de Lominie*, one of the Kings Privy Council: *Monſieur de Frontenae: Francis Martell, chief Chyrurgion to the King, and divers others of the Kings bed-Chamber, did ſee the ſame. I always was of opinion, that it was done by the Devil. Neither was I deceived in it: for this Ruſtick ſome few days after vaniſhed, and from that time, though by his friends, and thoſe of his houſe, ſought far and near, was never heard of.* So he. Good, and unqueſtionable witneſſes I hope, the King, and ſo many others of his Court, men of credit, and of all men (the *Chyrurgion*, at leaſt) beſt able to judge.

LET this be compared with *Joſephus* his relation: which ſhall we ſay is the ſtrangeſt? This I think. What then ſhall we ſay, is there any ſuch thing in the world,

as Truth: or such a thing in the Heavens Firmament, as a *Sun*? If so, then let us account, though *strange*, yet not *prodigious* those things, which are known so often to happen: but those men not so *strange*, as *prodigious*, who what all men see, would make us believe they do not see, or though they see, yet will not believe.

BUT now we are upon it I will run through some other instances: I shall not be long upon them; but they shall be chosen instances, that nothing may be left for the cure of those men (a hard cure I must confess) who love their disease, nay are proud of it, for the most part, as knowing they owe the reputation they have (among the vulgar) of *wise men*, unto it, more than they do, or have cause to do, unto any thing else. I speak this of the most. If any truly discreet and wise, and learned I must add, be of the same opinion too, we must needs look upon it, either as a judgment, or some natural distemper of the brain; for which I have the warrant of a learned Physician before spoken of, and one of their own sect in part; who though he did not believe *Devils*, because he did not see them; yet what he saw, and had often seen, or had been often seen by many others, whom he believed, (what we call *supernatural* operations) he pronounceth them *mad*, that did not believe. It may be the number of instances and testimonies of several men, of several nations, in cases or diseases of a several nature, may do what any one single or double evidence, though never so clear, could not.

ANTONIUS Benevenius, what I have seen of him is but very little in bulk, but very considerable; and I see he is in good credit with all Physicians, for he is often cited by them with good respect. Nay, if I be not mistaken in *Sennertus, lib.* 1. *Part. II. cap.* 31. where he treats of the *Epilepsie*, he hath been set out with the *Scholia's* of learned *Dodoneus*, which must be no small honour

nour unto his book. I have been beholding to it elsewhere: and therefore shall give him here the first place. Well, in that little book of his, *De abditis nonnullis ac mirandis*, &c. in the 26. Chapter he hath this story. A Souldier had an arrow shot through the left part of his breast, so that the iron of it stuck to the very bone of his right shoulder. Great endeavours were used to get it out, but to no purpose. *Benevenius* doth shew, that it was not feasible without present death. The man seeing himself forsaken by Physicians and Chyrurgions, sends for a noted *Ariolus*, or *Conjurer*: who setting but his two fingers upon the wound, with some *Charms* he used, commanded the iron to come out, which presently without any pain of the patient, came forth, and the man was presently healed. *Vidimus*, he saith: *we did see it*: but I do not approve of his censure at the end, that two were *damned* (the Patient and the Conjurer) for this Act. It was possible, the Patient was not so well instructed, how unlawful it was to seek to the *Devil* for help; how much better for a Christian, though he suffer never so much, whereby he is made so much the more *conformable* to Christ his Saviour, to die. Or perchance not sufficiently instructed, that such a cure could not be wrought by such means, without the *Devil*. There be strange things written of the herb *Dictamnus*, which if he had read, or were told, he might think the man had the right way to use it, which all men perchance have not; nay, we need no *perchance*, if all that I have read of it, both in ancient and late Authors, be true. Besides, God might be so merciful unto him, that he might heartily and with many tears repent of what he had done in the extremity of his pain. The *Conjurer* also, who can

can absolutely say, that he never repented? Not in the ordinary way of the world only, with a simple *Lord have mercy upon me*, when he was at the last: but time enough to make his repentance real, and sincere? Though I must needs say, I think it is very seldom, that God doth grant true repentance unto such, who wilfully and deliberately have put themselves into the hands of the *Devil*, and either *directly* (as many do) or *tacitly*, which must be supposed, have abjured any right, or pretention to Gods mercy.

MY next instance shall be out of *Zacutus Lusitanus* his *Praxis Medicinæ admiranda*; a book of great credit with all I have met with, but those who will admit of nothing for truth, (an effect of their ignorance many times more than *incredulity*) but what their little reading, and scanty experience hath commended unto them for truth. Which, I doubt, is the case of not a few in these days; who to avoid labour, and to cover their ignorance, would gladly reduce all medicine to some few, whether true or pretended, and by most believed true, revelations of these later times. *Galen* and *Hippocrates*, (I have heard it my self) what should they do with them? The course of Physick is now altered, by late discoveries: there is no more need of them. Ignorant wretches, and unhappy they, that fall into such hands. But I have done. *Zacutus* his relation is this: A young Gentleman, of a comely shape, and of excellent parts, was so passionately in love with a fair maid, of a noble parentage, about eighteen years old; that he had no rest, neither night nor day, very near unto distraction. But when by reason of the inequality of their birth, he found nothing at her hands, but contempt and scorn; enraged, he applies himself to *Witches* for revenge. They according to art, make a picture or image rather, of her, in wax, which when pricked, with some Charms,

and

and imprecations; at the same time the party was seised with such horrible torments in all parts of her body, that she thought her self pierced, or run through with some sharp weapon. It was not long before divers Physicians (the best that could be had, we may presume) were sent for, who at first thought those horrible accidents must proceed from some distemper of the womb. But after they had observed, that all remedies they had applied made her worse, rather than better, they absolutely pronounced her disease, to be no *natural* disease, and that she was either actually possest by some evil Spirit, or infested and infected by some of their creatures: In which judgment, see God would have it to prevent the contradiction of some confidents, which in all places are to be found; when she began to cast out of her body lumps of hair, (*tribulorum fasciculum*, I know what it may signifie besides, but I would not make the matter more strange than it must needs) others of thistles, needles; then a black lump in the form of an egge, out of which, when dissected, came flying Ants, which did cause such a noisom stink, that no body was able to abide the room: they were much confirmed. But at last, reduced to great extremity, and at the point of death, with much difficulty, being in a *syncope*, she vomited a certain creature, of the bigness of an ordinary fist, of a black colour, long tail, hairy all the body over, like a mouse; which being fallen to the ground, did with great swiftness run to and fro the room, and then died. The Parents astonished with this horrible case, and seeing their child forsaken by Physicians, they have recourse to all the *Witches*, *Sorcerers* and *Magicians* the Town or Country yielded. Among all these, one was found, who did with no small confidence, upon condition of a good reward, undertake to make her well, if they sent for him, when she was in a fit. It was agreed: being in

a fierce fit, he is called: who, (*Zacutus* then present, he saith of himself) after he had applied a very white paper to her pole, in which two letters only (T. M.) were written, and an Asses hoof half burned, and chanted to her ears some words, (*Zacutus* did not hear them it seems) she was presently free from all evil, and so continued for the time to come. *Morbi ergo trans naturam*, &c. that is, *Diseases therefore besides nature, as after* Fernelius, Carrerius *upon* Galen *de locis aff. disp.* 37. *doth vigorously argue must be cured by remedies that are not natural.* So *Zacutus* concludes, as he did begin, making that, by his title, the very drift and purpose of his narration. I hope he did mean well, but wish, he had spoken more warily. For first, were such cures never so certain and ordinary, yet are they impious, and unlawful; as not *Divines* only, the most and best approved, but also learned *Physicians* well determine and conclude. True it is, there is a story of a *Dispensation* granted by Pope *Nicolaus* the *V.* to a Bishop very dear unto him, which may seem to cross what we say, if Popes might not erre, and do wickedly, as well as other men. For the Bishop having been bewitched unto a grievous disease, of which he could not after many endeavours be cured by any natural means; a *Witch* offered her self, and upon condition she might be allowed to *bewitch* her, that had *bewitched* the Bishop unto death, (which she said was in her power to do) undertook to cure him. Whereupon the Pope being sued unto for a *Dispensation*, he granted it, and the business was done, the first *Witch* died, and the Bishop was restored. *Sprengerus* as I take it, who was an *Inquisitor* for all such businesses at *Rome*, was the first that made it publickly known. Scarce any body that writes of this subject of *Witches*, and their power, but takes notice of it from him. And as yet, I have not found it contradicted by any,

any, that I can remember. Neither do I remember that *Delrio*, in that bulky book of his *Disquisitions*, takes notice of it any where; which we may be sure he would not have omitted, to vindicate the Pope, had he known how to excuse it with a good conscience, or how to censure it without offence. But the truth is, though he take no direct notice, and durst not apparently justifie it, yet that it made him write more favourably of such cases, than otherwise he would have done; for which he is justly blamed, and as solidly refuted by learned *Sennertus. lib.* 6. *p.* 9. *cap.* 8. I cannot but suspect. Yet as to this particular case, what he thought of it, he doth, without any particular mention, tell us freely enough, when he doth limit his *license* or *dispensation* (which he doth allow) with this *proviso*, that if help be required, or admitted from such; yet of no other than the very *Witch* or party, that hath done the mischief. For which, though he gives a very good reason, yet he concludes but timorously, *Quare raro admodum*, &c. *It must be therefore but very seldom, if ever, lawful, to require the help of another Sorcerer*, [or *Sorcerers*] *but only from him* [or her] *who is the actor of the mischief.* But *seldom*, if *ever*. Now here, in the Bishops case, it was required by the Bishop, and indulged by the Pope, that a *Witch*, by bewitching her to death, that had done the mischief, might do the cure. Was not this example, think we, in the mind of *Delrio*, when he so wrote; and was not he put to it shrewdly, between fear on the one side, and conscience on the other? But how more they, between such manifest *evidences* on the one side, and an obstinate and resolved *incredulity* on the other, who after all this will tell us, dare tell us, there is no such thing, as *Witches* or *Sorcerers* in the world? Well, it was so it seems in this particular: the *Witch* that had done the hurt must perish, or the

Bishop

Biſhop could not be cured: but leſt the Reader ſhould miſtake, that it is always ſo, he may learn by another inſtance.

LEONARD Vair in his book of *Charms*, before mentioned, hath a ſtory of a woman, which though ſhe paſſionately loved her husband, yet when he came to approach her as her husband, ſhe was affrighted with ſuch horrid phancies and apparitions; and if much urged, ſuffered in her body ſuch ſtrange ſymptoms or accidents, that ſhe became an object of no leſs horror, than pity, to all that ſaw and heard her. Her husband was one, that this *Leonard* (no mean man, for his worldly eſtate and credit in the world) had a great affection for: and was not wanting to him, in the beſt advice, or aſſiſtance he could give him. But all to no purpoſe. They continued in this forced kind of *continence*, from the firſt of their legal matrimony, three whole years: at the end of which, the *Witch* that had out of meer envy and malice bewitched the woman to this unuſual kind of affliction; whether procured, or of her own accord I know not, becauſe my Author doth not tell me, came to the houſe, abſolved her; and from that time they lovingly and comfortably enjoyed one another. My Author doth not ſay *he ſaw it*, the woman, I mean, in her fits: neither was it fit he ſhould be admitted to ſee; which himſelf, I dare ſay, (a pious honeſt man, his book ſpeaks him) would have refuſed, had he been deſired. But how every thing did paſs, he did not want good information, we find by the account he doth give us, and the circumſtances of fact, as he doth relate them, fitter to be read in him, than related by me, in the judgment of any indifferent Reader, may amount to a *Vidimus*. It will be found in his third book of the ſaid Treatiſe, of my *French* Tranſlation, Page 502, &c.

BUT ſecondly, *curantur*, *Zacutus* ſaith, as if it were very

very certainly feasible, at any time, which is most false; and though his words seem to imply so much, yet I hope and believe it was not his meaning. For though God, for some reasons permit such things some times; and one reason certainly is, that men generally so inclinable to *Atheism*, might certainly know, if not wilfully blind, that there is somewhat besides flesh and bloud, and what may be seen with bodily eyes (that is, ordinary nature) to be thought on; yet I am very confident, that not one in a hundred, nor a thousand perchance, that seek to *Devils* and *Witches*, doth speed, or obtain what he doth desire; not because the *Devil* doth want power, or will, but because God doth not permit. Nay, many certainly, when they have done what they can or could, to be acquainted with *Devils*, yet have missed of their desires, which might be a just judgment of God, so to harden them the more in their *Athiesm*, and other wickedness; or an act of his providence perchance, to prevent the mischief that they would do, had they such an assistant. Whereof we have a notable example in that monster, *Nero*, who as *Pliny* relateth, having with care and great longing, applied himself to the best Magicians of his time; yet God would not permit (*Pliny* was not so well perswaded of the gods of his time, as to say so) but would not, I say, permit, that they could do any thing before him, for the credit of their profession; whereby *Nero* grew very confident, and upon that very ground, many were then, and have been since, that there is no such thing as *Magick*; and that all that professed it, were but cheaters, and impostors. We might also say somewhat of *Julian* the *Apostate*, one of the greatest followers of *Magicians*, when *Magick* and *Necromancy* was in highest request, that ever was; as all writers, Christians, and others acknowledge. Yet for all that, how long he reigned, and how he died, we know. But

yet

yet more particularly, we have heard of one Bishop, who sped (as to this world, wretched man) in the hands, or by the hands of a Witch: But *Bodinus* will tell us of another Bishop, whom he names, with all his titles and dignities; and he saith he was present with one *Faber*, a learned Physician: when one of that profession did take upon him to cure him of a Quartan Ague; which neverthelesse, for all his confidence, he could not do. But this is but one for another, because it offered it self so opportunely: but I believe, as I said before, that many more, without number, miscarry, either seeking to no purpose, or when they have found whom to treat with, finding themselves cheated and frustrated.

BUT to return to the relation it self, wherein I would leave nothing disputable; I observe in it an *Image* or *picture* of the party to be tormented, made of wax. I observe it, because I know some, who question not the power of *Devils* or *Witches*; yet in this particular are not satisfied, how such a thing can be. For there is *no relation or sympathy in nature*, (saith one, who hath written not many years ago) *between a man and his effigies, that upon the pricking of the one, the other should grow sick.* It is upon another occasion that he speaks it; but his exception reacheth this example equally. A wonder to me, he should so argue, who in many things hath very well confuted the *incredulity* of others, though in some things too credulous himself. If we must believe nothing but what we can reduce to *natural*, or, to speak more properly (for I my self believe the Devil doth very little, but by *nature*, though to us unknown) *manifest* causes, he doth overthrow his own grounds, and leaves us but very little of magical operations to believe. But of all men, *Cardan* had least reason to except against this kind of *Magick*, as ridiculous or *incredible*, who himself is so full of *incredible* stories in that kind, upon his own credit

credit alone, that they had need to be of very easie belief, that believe him; especially when they know (whereof more afterwards) what manner of man he was. But I dare say, that from *Plato*'s time, who among other appurtenances of *Magick* doth mention these, *κήρινα μιμήματα* that is, as *Ovid* doth call them, *Simulachra cerea*, or as *Horace*, *cereas imagines*, (who also in another place more particularly describes them) there is not any particular rite, belonging to that art, more fully attested by Histories of all ages, than that is. Besides, who doth not know, that it is the Devils fashion (we shall meet with it afterwards again) to amuse his servants and vassals with many rites and ceremonies, which have certainly no ground *in nature*, *no relation or sympathy* to the thing, as for other reasons, so to make them believe, they have a great hand in the production of such and such effects; when, God knows, many times all that they do, though taught and instructed by him, is nothing at all to the purpose, and he in very deed is the only agent, by means, which he doth give them no account of. *Bodinus* in his Preface to his *Dæmonology*, relateth, that three waxen-*Images*, whereof one of Queen *Elizabeths*, of glorious memory, and two other, *Reginæ proximorum*, of two Courtiers, of greatest authority under the Queen, were found in the house of a Priest at *Islington*, a *Magician*, or so reputed; to take away their lives. This he doth repeat again in his second book, Chap. 8. but more particularly that it was in the year of the Lord 1578. and that *Legatus Angliæ*, and many *French*-men, did divulge it so; but withal, in both places he doth add, that the business was then under trial, & not yet perfectly known. I do not trust my memory: I know my age, and my infirmities. *Cambden*, I am sure, I have read and read again: but neither in him, nor in *Bishop Carletons thankful remembrancer*, do I remember any such thing. Others may perchance. Yet in the year 1576. I read

in

in both, of ſome pictures, repreſenting ſome, that would have kill'd that glorious Queen with a Motto, *Quorſum hæc, alio properantibus* ! which pictures were made by ſome of the conſpiracy for their incouragement; but intercepted, and ſhewed, they ſay, to the Queen. Did the time agree, it is poſſible theſe pictures might be the ground of thoſe miſtaken, if miſtaken, *waxen Images*, which I deſire to be taught by others, who can give a better account.

MY next and laſt inſtance, in this kind, or matter of *Cures*, ſhall be out of the *Obſervationes Medicæ*, of *Henricus ab Heers*, Domeſtick Phyſician, not many years ago, to the *Elector of Coln*: a man of no ſmall credit in thoſe parts among the better ſort, eſpecially; but no friend to *Empericks*, among whom he reckoned *Van Helmont* as one of the chief. But I ſhall not interpoſe my judgment in that. Of *Heers*, I dare ſay in general, not to meddle with thoſe things that properly belong unto a Phyſician to judge of; that he doth write as a ſober, learned, and (*which is the* Crown of all) pious man. The ſubject of his eighth obſervation, is a very ſtrange ſtory of a young maid, that was bewitched by one of that wicked crew; which being found by the conſequents of the preſence, or abſence of the *Witch*; ſhe was laid hold of, arraigned and convicted; and for that, and many other things of the ſame nature done by her, as ſhe confeſſed, deſervedly put to death. But with the *Witch*, (as ſhe her ſelf at her death, had foretold it would be) the pains of the miſerable girle did not expire, but continued at leaſt one year after. So long is expreſſed, how much longer I know not. *Heers* had the keeping of her a good part of the time. In the mean time, ſuch ſtrange things happened unto her, and ſuch ſtrange things came out of her, that her keeper did verily believe, and did endeavour to perſwade divers others,

who

who were admitted daily spectators, (Scholars and Philosophers, or Naturalists, among the rest) that not the maid really in her body, did suffer those things that did appear unto them, but that their *fascinated* eyes (as it doth happen sometimes) did falsly represent unto them things which had no real being. But did not long continue in that opinion, being convicted by manifest experience, as he doth relate, to the contrary. The particulars are so many, that I must desire the Reader, if so curious, to take them from the Author himself: who in the relation is so put to it, to protest and to apologize for himself, that I doubt he had not been much acquainted with such cases, by his own experience, or read much in others, that write of them. *Quæ tunc viderim, audiverim,* &c. *What I then saw, heard, handled, because I know there be many that will not believe,* &c. *So God bless me, I shall write nothing, but what I have seen.* And again, *I do most conscienciously,* (or, *by what is most sacred*) *and all my domesticks are ready with me most solemnly to take their oaths,* &c. But yet of all particulars, the last of all seemeth to me most observable, and that is, a *natural receipt,* commended and approved by more than one before, men of credit and learning, which he will tell you, it was a long time, though he did use all possible endeavours, before he could procure to remove or cure such kind of witchcraft: but at last he got it, and it wrought the desired effect. For the maid, he saith, with the use of it, perfectly recovered. He doth make us believe, he hath given us the receipt clearly expressed, which to understand he was long puzled. If so, he hath deserved well of posterity, and deserves the thanks of the present age. However, it is very possible that what he found effectual, and some others before him, to such a purpose, may fail sometimes; which in things of such an abstruse nature, and which depend

of

of many circumſtances, it is no great wonder that it ſhould be ſo, when we ſee that ordinary Phyſick doth not always produce the ſame effects in all bodies; no, nor in the ſame ſometimes.

NOW of theſe receipts (this, upon this occaſion, to direct the *belief* of others, not much verſed in ſuch things) that pretend to ſome hidden, but *natural* vertue; therefore, as we had it before by ſome called, *natural*, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or *eminently*: ſuch as keep to things meerly *natural*, as *herbs*, *roots*, *ſtones*, and the like; and are not accompanied with any words, or ſpells, pronounced or written; nor contain rites and ceremonies, as many are; I know not, if we allow, as all ſober men muſt, of *occult qualities*, I know not, I ſay, why we ſhould ſuſpect our ſelves, or make others ſcrupulous of ſuch: eſpecially when commended unto us by perſons, that are not at all ſuſpected, and that they are known to have been effectual, I will not ſay always, but ſometimes. I am not therefore of their opinion, I muſt confeſs, who confine us to thoſe things, for which a probable reaſon may be given, from the nature of the ingredients, or ſimple materials. But on the other ſide, where there is any juſt ground of ſuſpition, it muſt be conſidered alſo, that it may be the craft of the Devil, or his inſtruments (*Witches* and *Magicians*) to aſcribe cures to things *natural*, as the means, to draw us on by degrees; when thoſe *natural* things ſignifie nothing at all really; and all the operation doth proceed from a more myſtical and concealed cauſe. But again, no queſtion, I think, is to be made, but that the Devil and thoſe that work by him, to inhance the credit of their art, or power, where they are allowed, diſguiſe ſometimes the operations of things meerly *natural*, of purpoſe, with ſuperſtitious rites and ceremonies, which of themſelves do nothing; though probably without them,

thoſe

those natural things would not prove efficacious in the hands of them, that had them from such masters; nor yet in the hands of others perchance, through the ignorance or omission of some small circumstance, which in point of very nature, may much alter the case. However, in process of time, it is likely that such and such things came more generally, (as many of those *naturalia* or *specifica* are) to be known to be efficacious to such ends, which were at first as great secrets, prescribed by those masters, to them that did apply themselves to them. For otherwise, how they should come to the knowledge of men, (though some, by some casualty might, I confess) were hard to guess. Of this nature I suspect something may be found in *Trallianus*, than whom, I think, no man (those that profess such things under the *Devil* their Master excepted) hath more of these *Naturalia* or *Specifica*, for all kind of diseases. A strange thing, that a man in his profession, and the rational way, so learned and useful, as I have heard some eminent Physicians attest, besides what *Fererius* and others write, should give credit to so many tales, as he that reads must needs suspect, or rather absolutely pronounce of many, or most of them. Yet is he not content to set them down barely, to satisfie the curiosity of some, as he doth sometimes profess; but many times doth commend them, as approved by certain experience. Other ancient Physicians have, I know, some; but so many as *Trallianus* hath, and so confidently proposed, I think not any. Yet that he was a *Magician*, or did work at all by the *Devil*, of whose nature, and properties probably he knew little or nothing, I do not believe: but if his *naturalia* did prove so effectual, as he would make us believe, I must suspect nevertheless that the Devil had a hand in the operation of many of them. And should any man, acquainted with the mysteries of our faith & the Scriptures,

go the ſame way, to advance the credit of ſuch remedies, I ſhould believe him either a *Magician*, or as bad as a *Magician*. But even among Chriſtians, (profeſt Chriſtians at leaſt) as elſewhere, ſo in *England*, there be I doubt too many, that are not ſo tender-conſcienced, as to ſtick at thoſe things, or enquire after the lawfulneſs of the means, (through ignorance, and want of good information, ſome, probably) may they but compaſs their deſire, either of profit, or of eaſe. A very good friend of mine, a ſerious man, and a good Preacher, told me this ſtory, as very well known to him. A friend of his, he ſaid, having been long troubled with an Ague, and probably tried many means without ſucceſs, either went to, or lighted upon an Apothecary (he named him, and the place of his abode) who undertook to cure him, and to that end, delivered unto him ſix very ſmall rouls of paper, rouled up very cloſe, and bid him eat them. But he before he did execute what was injoyned, had ſo much curioſity or boldneſs, as to look into one of them firſt, then into another, and laſtly, into a third; in all which, he found no more, than this written, *Do well*, or, *All is well*: ſo reported unto me, uncertainly; but one of the two, certainly. Having ſatisfied his curioſity, and happily thinking there could be no *Magick* in this, he did what he was bid, that is, eat them. Whereupon he was ſurpriſed with great pains, the like whereof he had not felt before, for a while: but afterwards, was altogether free of his diſeaſe. Whereof having given an account to his friend, or Phyſician, what he had ſuffered firſt, and how free afterwards; Then I will warrant you, ſaid he preſently, you did open ſome of the papers; and ſo many papers, as you opened, ſo many fits you had, I believe, of thoſe pains, which his friend told him, was very true. At the ſame time, one that was preſent, but not ſo well known to me, told a

ſtory,

ſtory, that had much affinity, and I am much deceived, if I have not read ſomewhat printed that hath more: but one will ſerve our turn of this kind. For though I may perchance believe my friend, as he believed his, that it is true; yet to commend it to the Reader, as an abſolute truth, I dare not, but upon a probable ſuppoſition of the truth, the opening of the papers, and what enſued excepted, I ſhould not much wonder at the poſſibility of the thing, in point of nature. For a ſtrong confidence, if the Apothecary did well act his part, or *imagination* may do much: it is a common obſervation, and examples every where are obvious.

NOW to proceed, I have given, I think, a ſufficient account of the power of Magick in point of Cures, which by ſome, beſides them that deny all *ſupernatural* operations, is not believed, but more, I believe, for want of diligent enquiring into the thing, then through meer *incredulity*. I have made choice of ſuch inſtances, againſt which what rationally can be excepted, I cannot ſo much as imagine. But I will yet oppoſe *incredulity*, in another kind of *ſupernatural* operations, by inſtances as irrefragable as the former; and to them that think themſelves concerned in the true ſenſe of the Scriptures, more conſiderable. *Pſalm* 58. verſe 4. and 5. it is written: *They are like the deaf Adder, that ſtoppeth her ear: which will not hearken to the voice of the charmers, charming never ſo wiſely.* Beſides, *Eccleſiaſtes* the 10. verſe the 11. *Surely the Serpent will bite without enchantment, and a babler is no better*: and again, *Jeremy* the 8. and the 17. verſe: *For behold I will ſend Serpents, Cockatrices among you, which will not be charmed, and they ſhall bite you ſaith the Lord.* For the firſt place, it were no hard matter to interpret the words of the *Pſalmiſt*, as ſpoken *proverbially*, without any conſequence of a ſuppoſition of the truth, or reality of the thing, in matter

of fact. For many things are thus spoken *proverbially*, which they that speak have no intention to assert as true, or perchance know, or believe at last, to be most false. So *Cygnea cantio*: *Sirenum cantus*, and the like; for which perchance somewhat may be said, but not believed I am sure, by all that use the speech. Or if I compare a woman to a *Circe*, or a man to *Proteus*, or to aggravate any burden, say it is heavier than that of *Atlas*; no rational man will hence conclude, that *I* believe that such have been really. But the two other places are more positive, and cannot so well be evaded. Yet *Valesius*, not to name others, a very learned *Spaniard*, in his books, *De Sacra Philosophia*, hath taken great pains to perswade men, that these things were spoken not *proverbially*, but mystically, and *allegorically*; and though he deny not *supernatural* operations by *Devils* and Spirits, whom he doth not at all doubt of: yet as to this particular, of *inchanting by magical Words*, he doth altogether deny, as possible, and whatsoever is alledged by any ancient or late writer to that purpose, he doth reject, as meerly fabulous. *It* seems by *Pliny*, that learned men of old, have been very much divided in their opinions about this matter; insomuch, that he dares not take upon him to decide it, but leaves it free to every man to believe as they shall see cause: His words, * elsewhere produced by me, in a proper place, very notable and applicable to many occasions, are, *Maximæ questionis, & semper incertæ est, valeantne aliquid verba & incantamenta carminum*; and again more particularly, *Varia circa hæc opinio, ex ingenio cujusque vel casu, mulceri alloquio foras: quippe ubi etiam Serpentes extrahi, cantu cogique in pœnas, verumfalsumne sit vita non decreverit.* So he. We shall give light to those words, *cogique in pœnas*, afterwards: We have given the substance of the rest before. Now for my part, partly upon what I have seen my

my ſelf, but much more upon the teſtimony of others, who profeſs to have ſeen it, and give a particular account of every circumſtance; men all generally well accounted of; I do profeſs that I know not what to believe in the world, which I cannot ſay I have ſeen my ſelf; if I may not believe this, and commend unto others, for a truth. *If any thing*, *I* ſay, which *I* cannot ſay, *I have ſeen my ſelf*: which would be a ſtrange kind of *Incredulity*, and worthy to make a man unworthy of the ſociety of men, of whom, even the beſt, and moſt creditable, he can entertain ſo baſe an opinion: Neither can it, *I* think, enter into the heart of any man, to be ſo miſtruſtful, but theirs only who are conſcious unto themſelves of their own baſeneſs, and make no other difference between *lying* and *ſpeaking truth*, but as either beſt fits their preſent occaſion. As for *Valeſius* his opinion, though a learned man, and for ought *I* know, pious and wiſe; yet it is no wonder to me, that any one man, though pious and learned, ſhould fall into an opinion very *paradoxical*, and contrary to moſt other mens belief: eſpecially in a thing of this nature, which moſt depends of experience. *Pliny* hath ſufficiently warned us againſt this ſcandal, or exception, when in this very caſe, he tells us, that men are apt to believe and frame their opinions, according as they have found; or, by their particular experience: an excellent obſervation, and, as *I* ſaid before, applicable to many things of good moment, whereof *I* have given examples elſewhere. *I* am very confident, that it was not *Valeſius* his luck, to meet with any man (much leſs two or three, or more) whom he accounted pious and judicious withal, that could ſay, he had ſeen the thing done, with his own eyes, and in the preſence of many others: but more probable, that he had met with, or heard of ſome cheaters and impoſtors in this very caſe, whereof it were no very hard thing, *I* believe, to find inſtances & examples:

and when a man hath once framed to himſelf an opinion, and pleaſed himſelf (as we are too apt) in his invention; it is no eaſie thing, (ſuch is the infirmity, even of the beſt of men) to get him out of it. But *Valeſius* hath been, and his reaſons fully anſwered and confuted by more it may be, but by one I know, very learned and judicious ; and with ſo much reſpect and moderation, as that *Valeſius*, I think himſelf, would have thought himſelf, had he read him, rather beholding to him, than otherwiſe, of whom alſo I ſhould not be afraid, or think it any diſcredit (ſuch an opinion I have of his real worth and learning) to borrow ſome inſtances, in ſuch a caſe, more to be reſolved by *inſtances*, that is *experience*, than any thing elſe. But that my curioſity hath been ſuch in this particular, that I think (without pride or bragging (be it ſpoken) I could have furniſhed him. Which I may ſay alſo of what he hath written of, and upon *Joſephus* his place, before examined, very accurately and learnedly : let the Reader, upon comparing, judge, as he ſhall pleaſe. But I have not yet, though before I have, upon another occaſion, named the man : It is Doctor *Reynolds*, Royal Profeſſor in *Oxford*, when he lived : and the book his learned *Prælectiones*, before named alſo. A pity it is, as he doth complain himſelf more than once, that the condition of thoſe *Prælectiones* was ſuch, that he was forced oftentimes to repeat the ſame things, which is able to make thoſe, that have not patience, nor know how to value ſuch ware, to be ſoon weary. His chiefeſt inſtances, beſides *Fernelius* and *Matthiolus*, their opinions in the caſe, upon certain proof and experience are, the firſt, *Baptiſta Mantuanus*, a known Phyſician, in his notes, or obſervations upon *Avicen*, which he doth call *Lectiones* : whoſe words are ; *Ego mihi credite, vidi meis oculis*, &c. that is : *My ſelf with mine eyes, you may believe me, have ſeen it, a*

certain man who when he had made a circle (cumque signaret) and drawn some characters about it, and uttered some words, he did call together above a hundred Serpents. So he. This indeed *Montanus* doth not relate to the same end that I do, to prove that there be supernatural operations by the intervention of Devils and Spirits; but he, to prove the strength of *imagination*. For he was, it seems, of the opinion of some *Enthusiasts Arabs*, as *Avicenna* and some others, embraced by some professing Christianity also; who did ascribe so much to the strength of *imagination*, as if Rain, and Thunder, and even Earthquakes might be caused by it. Certainly, they that did believe this, really, had a very strong *imagination*. How comes it to pass, they never did none of those miracles? But for a further resolution, or refutation of this, if any desire it, I refer them to learned *Fyenus* his excellent Treatise, *De viribus Imaginationis*, well worth the reading, written in the old *Aristotelean* way; though he do *Aristotle* some wrong, unwillingly I believe, when he doth say, that *Aristotle* he believeth, did write of the strength of the *imagination*, no were, but *Problem. l.* 10. *c.* 12. a great mistake. But to our purpose. *Remigius* his relation, which is not in *Reynolds*, is more strange, and not less credible, I think. *I have seen a man*, saith he, *who from all the neighbourhood (or confines) would draw Serpents into the fire, which was inclosed within a Magical Circle; and when one of them, bigger than the rest, would not be brought in, upon repetition of the Charms before used, he was forced, and so into the fire he did yield himself with the rest, and with it was compassed.* So *Remigius.* By this, what *Pliny* meant, by his *cogique in pœnas*, may be understood. But I must conceal nothing from my Reader. They that should see my *Remigius* would easily believe that I have read him over, more than once, by my noting and scribling in

most pages of it. Yet at this time, *I* must confess, *I* could not find this passage, where *I* thought it most probable it would be found. And that which makes me somewhat suspitious is, that *I* find much of this relation, set out with more florish, as acted elsewhere: which *I* confess is very possible, that what the *Devil* hath done in one place, he may do in another. And this *I* find in an Author, who professeth to have travelled the greatest part of *Europe*, to satisfie his curiosity: and to speak truth, for the bigness, *I* have not read stranger things in all kinds in any book: but this of Serpents, he doth relate from others, of what credit *I* know not; he doth not say he did see them himself. And therefore the Reader may suspend his belief, as to this particular relation; if he please, till he or *I* have found it in *Remigius*. Yet withal *I* must say, that the same Author, but now spoken of, though he doth not attest this relation of Serpents, as a thing seen by himself; yet another he doth, (*Vidimus*) his word, which in point of the creatures charmed, is as different, as *Serpents*, are from *Flies*; in all other things have much affinity: *Hercules* Πάνοπλος, is the title of the book: one *Joh. Exnestus Burggravius*, the Author: these two particulars of Serpents and Flies, page 68. and 77. My Author for *Remigius*, is one that calls himself *Philippus Ludwigus Elich*, in his *Dæmonomagia*: who is very full of quotations, out of good books, *I* confess, but otherwise, whether sober or no, when he wrote; he is so full of extravagancies, *I* do not know. But again, *Remigius* and *Burggravius*, their relations agree very well; but that they do not agree in the place, which is no argument against the truth; some may think it a confirmation of their relations, because as *I* said before, it is very possible the same thing in substance might be acted, as most other things are, in different places; But *Delrio*, in whom though diligent

gent and copious enough, *I* find none of these, nor a word of *Valesius*, he hath an example which he calls *celebre exemplum*, as known unto all men, that seek after these things, and uncontrollable; so I understand him; but of a quite contrary event: for there the *Magician* was kill'd by the Serpent, who last appeared, who probably might be the *Devil* himself: but enough of this.

MY next instance (in *Reynolds* also) or testimony, is of *Andreas Masius*, that excellent *Commentator*, and learned Divine, who being intreated by *Wierius*, to explain unto him the true notions of the *Hebrew* words, wherewith all kind of *Witchcraft* is expressed in the Scriptures, when he comes to the word חבר, which properly signifieth *incantare*, or *to inchant*; he doth add: *Et ego vidi*, &c. *I also have seen them, who with words* (or *charms*) *could stop wild beasts, and force them to await the stroak of the dart: who also could force that domestick beastly creature, which we call a Rat, as soon as seen, amazed and astonished to stand still, as it were immovable, until not by any deceit or ambushes, but only stretching their hands they had taken them, and strangled them.* So learned *Masius*. Some Reader it may be that is not *incredulous*, for want of due consideration, will be astonished at these things, that such power should be given unto man, or *Devil*. But they should rather make this use of it, that if such power even *Spirits* have, that are Gods creatures, and servants; which both good and bad are, though against their wills; what may his power be, who is the *Creator* of all things; and how inexcusable they, who in some articles of our faith, stick at some things, as impossible to God? And if they believe, (they

(they do, if true Christians) that one Angel, at Gods command, destroyed in one night, *one hundred fourscore and five thousand men*, why, a wonder unto any, that a man, by the help of the *Devil*, who is a rebel-Angel, should have such power (God not hindring) upon dumb creatures, whether fierce or tame? The *German Piper*, I think, there be but few, but sometime or other have heard of, who having agreed with the Town, or Village, at a certain rate, to destroy all the Rats, which did much annoy the place, and after performance, was denied, and laughed at: drew by his musick all, or most Children of the Parish, or place, after him; who (if a true tale) were never heard of. It is related by many for a truth, and said by some, to be left upon the records of the place or Country. But I will not trouble my self to seek my books or papers for it, at this time. Enough hath been produced of later times, which I think unquestionable, and I have yet more to the same purpose. I remember well, that many years ago, Sir *Henry Wootton*, being then *Provost* of *Eaton-Colledge*, he did tell me, that some body, whether English or Outlandish, did offer unto him to destroy all the *Moles* of the Country for I know not what compass of ground: but this, not by any charm, or incantation, he said, but by a secret of nature; because the Moles, at a certain time of the year, it was their nature and custom, to gather together in one place, and then, what to be done, I know not: he told me more, but this is all I remember. But I have a story of a later date, which though for some reasons I am somewhat shye to come to: Yet, because in two several places in my *Notes* and *Observations* upon *Diogenes Laertius* lately set out, and in those *Observations* upon the *Psalms*, and *Proverbs*, the importunity of Printers, when I was not very well furnished, either with books or leisure; but worst of all, of will, (when nothing

could

could be expected to be acceptable, and welcome, but what relished of schism and rebellion) extorted from me: but because in those two several places I have touched upon it, I desire I may have the liberty to relate it here at large.

IN the year of our Lord 1648. I then lived in *Sussex*, some three miles from *Chichester*, under the protection, not out of any love to me, who was looked upon as a desperate malignant; but out of a respect to my wife, between whom, and his wife, there was some relation of kindred; but under his protection, whom I dare not name; but a man of very great power, at that time; I wish he had made better use of it, than generally he did: though I never heard that he did much inrich himself by it, which many others did, who had less power, but were more covetous. I must acknowledge, not knowing at that time, where to dispose my self more commodiously, I was much beholding to him: and it did much conduce to my peace and quietness, as being of that profession and party, then sufficiently hated and persecuted; that he would do me the favour, and honour sometimes, as to come to my house. One time (I can tell the very day, it was the 11. of *February*) he came, and brought with him a Gentleman, his wives own father, and of kin to mine, who had been not long before Sheriff, as I remember, of *Sommerset-shire*, and suffered much by the times, for his loyalty. They came on horseback, with divers servants, among whom, because the chiefest of the company had lately bought a *Barbary*-horse, to whom he did not think convenient, as yet, altogether to trust himself; was one *John Young*, a known horse-courser of that Country. Whilest we were above, in the best Room I had, and the Servants in the Kitchin by the fire; my son (the only I then had, or since have had; some 12, or 13. years of age) comes in, with his

Mastiff,

Mastiff, which he was very fond of, as the Mastiff was of him: *John Young*, to make himself and the company sport; What will you say, Sir, saith he, if I make your dog, without touching of him, lie down, that he shall not stir? Or to that effect. My son, for it was a Mastiff of great strength, and courage, which he was not a little proud of; defied him. He presently to pipe, and the Mastiff (at a distance) to reel: which when the boy saw, astonished and amazed, he began to cry out. But the man, fearing some disturbance in the house, changed his tune, or forbare further piping, (I know not which) and the dog suddenly became as well and as vigorous as before. Of this I knew nothing, till the company was gone. Then *a maid of the house* observing that I much wondred at it, and wished I had seen it: O Master, said she, do you *wonder at it*? This man *doth it familiarly*, and more than that, the *fiercest horse*, or bull that is, if he speak but a word or two in their ears, they become presently tame, so that they may be led with a string; and he doth use to ride them, in the sight of all people. This made me the more impatient; and so it was, that being invited thither to dinner against the next day, I thought long till the time was come, and had not (the next day) been long there, but told the Master of the house, before much company, that were then present, what I had heard of the man, and how desirous I was to be further satisfied; That shall you soon be, replied he: and presently sent one for him. But answer was brought he was gone abroad, but they thought he would not be long away. This very delay, though but for so short a time, troubled me, which whether observed or no; Well, well, saith the Master of the house, I will give you some satisfaction, in the mean time, by one story I shall tell you. This man, said he, was once in company, and being in the mood

(or

(or to that effect) began to brag, what he could do to any dog, were he never so great or so fierce. It hapned, that a Tanner, who had a very fierce Mastiff, who all the day was kept in chains, or mulled, was in the company, who presently (not without an oath perchance, it is too usual; good laws against it, and well executed would well become a Christian Commonwealth) offered to lay with him ten pounds he could not do it to the said dog: that was, without any force or use of hands to lay him flat upon the ground, take him into his arms, and to lay him upon a table. *Young* hapned to be so well furnished at that time, that he presently pull'd out of his pocket (I think I was told) ten shillings. The Tanner accepts; the money on both sides laid into the hands of some one of the company, and the time set. At which time, to the no small admiration, certainly, of them that had not seen it before, but to the great astonishment, and greater indignation of him, that had laid the wager; with a little piping the party did punctually perform what he had undertaken. But instead of the ten pounds he expected, being paid only with oaths and execrations, as a *Devil*, a *Magician*: after some expectation, a suit was threatned or commenced. The conclusion was, that the business being on both sides referred to arbitration, and this very Gentleman that told me the story, chosen and agreed upon for one; of ten pounds, five (if my memory fail me not in any particular circumstance, as in the main, I am confident it doth not) were given him, and there was an end. Then they began to tell some other of that company, besides horses, what he had done to fiercest bulls, before great company, and some persons of quality: but withal, what one bull, more refractory than the rest, had done to him; carried him, against his will, into a deep pond, where he was in some danger, but at last, had his will of him also, as well as of the rest. Whilest they were speaking, in comes *John Young*.

John

John, ſaith the Maſter of the houſe, here is a Gentleman, at whoſe houſe you were yeſterday: he is very deſirous (to ſatisfie his curioſity, and to no other end) to ſee ſome of your feats. I was ſitting by the fire, (it was cold, and I was not very well) but turned and fixed my eyes upon him, and he his, as earneſtly upon me. I told him what I had heard of him, and that it would much ſatisfie me, to ſee that done with mine eyes, which, I knew, by ſome was thought impoſſible. Whereupon the man, ſtill earneſtly looking upon me, began a diſcourſe, how that all creatures were made by God for the uſe of man, and to be ſubject unto him; and that if men did uſe their power rightly, any man might do what he did. I muſt confeſs, I did wonder not a little to hear a man, *whom by his profeſſion*, and his countenance, *you would hardly have thought able to read* (and *whether he was*, I do not *know*) to ſpeak ſo Philoſophically; eſpecially after. I remembred what I had read in *Cornelius Agrippa*, that famous, but learned *Magician*, to the ſame purpoſe, *De occulta Philoſophia lib.* 3. *cap.* 40. *Quod unicuique homini impreſſus eſt character*, &c. where he begins: *It is approved by good experience, that man naturally hath an inbred power in him of binding and commanding*, &c. and yet, it is far from my thoughts to think, that ever the man heard ſo much as of the name. But after I had heard him a-while, I did adventure to deſire him, that I might hear ſome of his piping. He, as one that made very ſlight of it, took a little ſtick out of the Chimney, moſt of the company being buſie in diſcourſe, one with another, not regarding what paſſed between him and me; and did begin to make ſome kind of noiſe, wherein I did not think there was much muſick. But this I obſerved, (the Reader may laugh, and I know it might be a chance) that whileſt he was piping, which was not long, a Cat that was in the Chimney-corner,

ner, came towards him, and looked upon him, in that posture of body, that I could not but take notice of it. But, by this, Dinner was brought in, and the room with guests and servants, prety full. The man promised me he would come to my house, and I to him, he should not lose his labour. I trusted to it, and forbare any further mention of him, whilest I was in the house. But when returned to my own, I expected, day after day, and no news of him. I sent, as opportunity offered it self, messages unto him: promises were returned, but no performance followed. At last, after I began to suspect the man avoided me, I made two journeys to *Medhurst*, some seven miles from mine own house, where I was told, or not far off, he did live; but for ought I could do, I never had the sight of the man ever since, and I think he died before, or soon after I left the Country. Upon enquiry, all that I could learn is, that he had learned it of his father, who they said, drove the same trade before him.

IF the Reader have received any satisfaction from this story, I am glad of it. If not, to make him amends, I will tell him another, I cannot say more true; but he will perchance, because better attested, and from the place, and occasion more noble; whereof a *Bull* is a considerable part. And this, not because I desire to please his ears, (which is far from me) but to vindicate a truth of such consequence, which cannot (except Scripture authority will be thought sufficient, which in this particular seems to some doubtful) be better vindicated, than by experience. After the death of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, and before *Adrian* the sixth, his successor, was chosen, (being then absent) and come to *Rome*, there was, it seems, besides other confusion, by strife and divisions, a grievous Plague at *Rome*: which did so amaze the people, being otherwise, by other evils, much

much annoyed and perplexed; that having tried other usual means to no purpose; at last, they had recourse to one *Demetrius*, a *Grecian*, and noted *Magician*, who was said, and attested by some, to have done wonders in that kind, in other places. The man, with much confidence, undertook the business, promising to clear the City, not for the present only, but for the time to come also. This to bring to pass, (for a good reward, we may be sure) he requires a bull to be brought to him: a black bull it must be and a very fierce one, they say it was: but he after some charms, made him gentle and patient enough, so that he suffered his horns to be cut off, without any resistance. What I chiefly aimed at, is at an end: but if the Reader desire to know somewhat of the issue, truly I am at a stand in that. *Quercetanus, de peste*, relates it out of *Paulus Jovius*, whom I have not; *Pestem Romæ grassantem, sedatam fuisse incantationibus cujusdam Demetrii*, &c. that is, That *the Plague, raging in* Rome, *was asswaged by the inchantments of one* Demetrius, *&c. Delrio*, the Jesuit, out of *Grillandus*, saith nothing of the Plague, (*Delrio* doth not, whether *Grillandus* doth, I know not; I have him not at this time) but only of the Bull (which he calls, *ferocissimum taurum*) how he was calmed by Magick-art, and led by a string, hundreds of people following, and for this very act, *Demetrius*, as a notorious inchanter, cast into prison. But *Gilbertus cognatus*, (him I have) who very largely doth tell the story, and by some prayers I have of his in another book, seems to have been a very religious man, and was then at *Rome*, as I take it: by him, indeed the Plague is mentioned, a very sad Plague, and the confusions of the City at that time fully set out: the *Magician* also hired, the Bull required and tamed: all this he hath at large: but not that the Plague was thereupon asswaged or removed: though it seems the people

of

of the City, had so good an opinion of the man, after he had done his feats, that when cast in prison, by authority, as a *Magician*; he was violently delivered by them, and set at liberty. And *Cognatus* doth add, that from thence, he went into a certain place, where the Plague was, and that it was said, he had, by his art cleared it; but, said only: whether truly or falsly, he doth not tell us. *Onuphrius*, in the life of *Adrian* the sixth, doth mention the Plague, but nothing else: neither indeed was it for the credit of the place, or people, he should. For *Cognatus* writing to his friend about it, begins, *De Græca illâ* (the *Magician* that was imployed was a *Grecian*, I told you before) *superstitione, quæ Romam, Anno* 1522. *invecta fuit, scribere volens, vereor*, &c. that is, *Purposing to write of that Greek superstition, which was acted at* Rome, *in the year* 1522. *I have reason to fear, that neither I shall acquit my self, as I ought, and that both to you, and other Readers, the thing will seem incredible. For such is the indignity of the thing*, &c.

WELL, I think we may take it for granted if certain and approved experience, can make any think indubitable, that by *charms* and *inchantments* many *supernatural operations*, are brought to pass: and if such approved testimonies of fresh memory were wanting, yet to me, as to many others I suppose, the testimony of so many ages, grounded upon common experience, would be a sufficient evidence. After the Scriptures, *Homer* for his antiquity, of all Authors now extant, is most considerable; whose testimony is ordinarily produced, as indeed very pertinent and emphatical: So is *Plato's*, in more than one place: So *Pindarus*, and divers others, whom I pass by, because every where to be found. Physicians and Philosophers, if not all, yet not a few, did allow of them; and the laws of Princes some-

times did, and ſometimes not; but thoſe that did not, and were moſt ſevere, but not unjuſt againſt them, (as indeed they were, ſometimes) they are as good evidence, in our cauſe, to prove that ſuch things were practiſed, and found available, as thoſe laws, that did favour them. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, whoſe judgment we need not much ſtand upon, as long as his teſtimony, for the matter of fact, is good: in his Hiſtory of thoſe times, when himſelf lived, doth record it, as an example of great cruelty, that ſome were proceeded againſt in his time, as great malefactors, becauſe they had made uſe of *anile incantamentum, ad leviendum dolorem*; and in another place, that *a certain Magiſtrate*, (*anum quandam ſimplicem*, &c.) that is, *Did put to death a ſimple* (or *innocent*) *old woman, which was wont with ſmooth* (or *harmleſs*) *inchantments, to cure intermitting Fevers*, (or *Agues*) *after that the ſame being ſent for, had healed his own daughter.* A cruel thing indeed, that he ſhould uſe her help, or art, to cure his own daughter, and afterwards put her to death, for curing others, and making a practice of it: except we underſtand it ſo, that this man in authority, not fully ſatisfied that ſuch a thing could be; that is, *that charms and inchantments* were of that power, and having ſuch an opportunity to know the truth, having a daughter ſick in the houſe, he made uſe of her; and finding that ſhe was a *Witch*, indeed, and dealt in thoſe things, which by the laws of thoſe times were ſtrictly inhibited under pain of death; ſo he put her to death, notwithſtanding that (againſt his expectation perchance) his daughter had reaped the benefit of her unlawful profeſſion. And yet let us obſerve by the way, that if he did it of purpoſe, to make trial, and to know the truth; beſides that he made himſelf obnoxious to the law, for treſpaſſing againſt it, under pretence of trial, and finding of tranſgreſſors; which

which I believe the law did not allow: he might also have missed of his end. For it was possible, that she that had cured many by those unlawful courses, might not cure all, though she used the same means. For still we must presuppose the concurrence of Gods will and permission, without which nothing lawful or unlawful can be done: besides, what may also be alledged from natural hidden causes: and there be store of instances to that purpose, that effectual charms, in, and by the same hands are not always effectual. But again, *Wierius* would say, that the *Devil*, to mischief a poor innocent old woman, did so contrive it, that her charms should be effectual at that time, though in very deed, all that she did, did contribute nothing really to the cure, whereof himself was the immediate and only author. So far we may admit, that the charms of themselves were nothing, but as they were made effectual by him. But the woman therefore, that did apply her self to the *Devil*, and entred into covenant with him to such and such purposes; or, say she made no direct covenant, yet used an indirect way, by the laws of the land severely interdicted; she innocent, and no *Witch*, but in conceit? Who seeth not, I have said it before, and say it again, how by this device any malefactor may become innocent? But of *Witrius*, and his opinion, before sufficiently.

WHAT *Ammianus* doth call, *anum simplicem*, I understand *a white Witch*, as in some parts of *England* they are called; that is, such as are generally, by the common people, supposed to do no hurt, but much good; to distinguish them from ordinary mischievous *Witches*. When I lived in *Sommerset-shire*, where, as soon as by years capable, by the *Collation* of *Lancelot Andrews*, then Bishop of *Winchester*, (whose name will be in honour, and his books in request, as long as good learning, and true piety both, which of late hath suffered

great detriment, are in credit in *England*) I had a *Living*; I became acquainted with a very pious and hospitable Gentlewoman, one Mistress *Still*, the widow of Bishop *Still* his eldest son, as I take it; and by her, with another of the Bishops sons, yet living, for ought I know: a Gentleman of excellent parts; but, I think, better known unto most, by a strange infirmity he had, for which many that had seen him abroad, as I have often seen him, and once at my house, would have sworn he had been bewitched; yet natural, and contracted, as I have heard, by some hurt in his back-bone, through the unruliness of his horse, when he was upon his back. But this story, now to be told, I had from him. I wish I could relate it in his words, for he was an excellent speaker: There was in his fathers time, whilest a Parson of some Living there, in that Country, such a creature, which for the good she was supposed to do, and good only, had got the name of a *white Witch*; and was by many, who were not sensible of the hurt she did, by drawing so many into *condemnation*, and *the snares of the Devil*, who did use her help; magnified and admired. It seems the woman did not want, either tongue or boldness, to justifie her self, and her proceedings, when occasion was; and had got the reputation, among many, not only of a *cunning*, but also *religious* woman. Whereupon Doctor *Still* was desired by some of better judgment, to admit her to some kind of conference, that the people, if possible, might be undeluded. But he, for good reasons, I make no question, refuted it: yet was willing to repair to the Parish, where she lived, and publickly out of the Pulpit, declare his opinion concerning such practices, which he hoped, would do as well, or better; which was kindly accepted. The *Sunday*, or *Lords-day* (which some affect to call the *Sabboth-day*, but not so properly) being come, which he had set and promised,

promised, he went: Any body may suppose well accompanied, with friends and servants. The horse that he did ride, was his own ordinary Gelding, to which he was accustomed. But when near the place, (town or village) the horse began to rise, and to cast, in a strange manner, which he never was known to do before: and his carriage was so impetuous, that no body could come near the rider, who was supposed to be in very great danger, as they were all in great amazement. But at last, there being some kind of *Cross* or *Market-place*, with a stone-ascent to it, not far of; the horse carried him up thither, and then stood stock still. The *D. & .* had no hurt, but could not for a time, but be very sensible of what he had suffered by such violent concussion (or *succussion* more properly) in his body: and by the strangeness and unexpectedness of it in his mind; so that of necessity he was forced to turn back, and they that expected him, were disappointed. What become of the creature afterwards, either I never knew, or have forgotten. The *Doctor*, we know, continued in good credit, and became afterwards *Bishop* of the place. I have done with my story, which for the substance, as related unto me, I dare warrant true: but if mistaken in any circumstance, I desire the Reader to consider, that it is almost half a hundred years since it was told me. I know there be many, so little grounded in the true faith and mysteries of *Godliness*, that at the hearing of this (if they believe it) they will be ready, either to quarrel with God Almighty, for suffering; or to interpret this permission of his, as a kind of justification of the woman, and her practices. But we shall meet with such objections, in another place, before we end this first *Part*. I shall say no more here, but this: How can they so much wonder at this, who know, that God

in all ages hath suffered, sometimes, as lately amongst us, eminently a wicked cause to prosper: and Godly men, his faithful Ministers and Servants; yea godly Kings and Princes (whereof our late most pious *Soveraign*, a rare example) to fall into the hands of the wicked? That the Church of God in general hath been ever subject to the opposition and persecution of the *Devil* and his instruments; and more particularly, that St. *Paul*, though a *Saint*, so dear unto God, met with an *Alexander*, who *greatly withstood him*; and that, when he would have come, once, twice, to the *Thessalonians*, who perchance needed him as much, or more, than the Doctor was needed in that place (Town or Village) whether he was going; *he was hindred by Satan*?

BUT now I am in *Sommerset-shire*, before I leave it, I beg the liberty of another relation, which though it be not much to my main purpose, yet because I have not hitherto, to my best remembrance, met with it elsewhere, or not so fully as I wished, I would preserve the memory of it to posterity. And first of all, I will here insert it, as it came to my father (of bl. m.) from a very good hand, which no man, I dare say, will except against; then I will perfect it (*if not much mistaken*) with such *additionals*, as I learned in the Country, when I lived there.

ΣΥ'Ν ΘΕΩ: (It was his fashion so to begin almost every thing, that he wrote: I hope there is no *superstition* in it, the great *μορμολύκειον*, or *terriculamentum* of this *Atheistical* age. Ancient Christians, instead of it, used ordinarily *the Cross*: there was no *Popery* then:) *Rem miram mihi narrabat hodie, Dom. Episcopus Eliensis, Sanctæ pietatis Antistes. Dicebat se accepisse à multis, sed præcipue à Dom. Episcopo Vellensi nuper mortuo, cui successit Dom. Montacutus: evenisse ante annos circiter XV.* (he did write this in the year of the Lord 1610, or 1611.

as I guess: for I find no date) *in urbe Wella, sive ea dicenda, Wella, die quadam æstiva, ut dum in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali, populus sacris vacabat, duo, vel tria tonitrua inter plura audirentur, supra modum horrenda, ita ut populus universus in genua μιᾷ ὁρμῇ, procumberet ad illum sonum terribilem. Constitit, fulmen simul cecidisse, sine cujusquam damno tamen. Atque hæc anlgaria. Illud admirandum, quod postea est observatum à multis, repertas esse Crucis imagines impressas corporibus eorum, qui in æde sacratum fuerant. Dicebat Episcopus Vellensis, D. Eliensi, uxorem suam (honestissima ea fœmina fuit) venisse ad se, & ei narrasse pro grandi miraculo, sibi in corpore impressa + signa extare; quod cum risu exciperet Episcopus, uxor denudato corpore, ei probavit verum esse, quod dixerat. Deinde ipse observavit sibi quoque ejusdem + manifestissimam imaginem impressam esse, in brachio, opinor: aliis, in humero, in pectore, in dorso, aut alia corporis parte. Hoc vir maximus, Dom. Eliensis, ita mihi narrabat, ut vetaret de veritate historiæ ambigere.*] *Ex. Advers. Is. Casauboni* N. 4. *fol. antepenult.*

THE summ is, That at such a time (some eighty years ago, or thereabouts) a strange thunder, for the terror of the noise, hapned in the Cathedral of *Wells*, in *Sommerset-shire*, as the people were there at Prayers or Sermon: which made them fall all upon their knees. That afterwards, it was observed, that a Cross was imprinted upon the bodies of all, or most there assembled; of the Bishop, and his vertuous wife particularly.

I WILL not take upon me absolutely to determine, how these Crosses might come: I should not make any great wonder of them, no more than I do of those stones, which by the pious and learned compiler of *Musæum Veronense*, are called *Crucis Lapilli*; and fully described by him: which I do not find adscribed to any other, but a natural cause. Learned *Remigius*, I remember,

member, hath an observation, that very frequently, those bodies, that are struck with Thunder, are found marked with signs, resembling the impression of nails; which they that are simple, saith he, suppose to be the *Devils* claw, whom they believe to have hoofs and nails, not ordinary. But this, as well he might, he doth laugh at and proceeds to the inquisition of a *natural* cause, out of *Aristotle*, and others. But I will not transcribe, where there is such facile excess.

I AM a great admirer, I profess it, of a stone, which is not very rare. Many call them *Thunder-stones.* I have them of divers forms, (as to the bigness, or whole body) which in some is perfectly *Oval*: in some more *round*; in others *pointed* or *pyramidical*: some for the length, not unlike a *helmet*; and some very *flat*, which have somewhat of the resemblance of a *heart*, divided in two. And this is observable in some of them, that the lines not going through the body of the stone, (not visibly at least) but ending soon, they represent a perfect *Star* or *Asterick*, as usually painted; curiously set out in several rows of little points. But this (the occasion of this short digression) is essential to them all, that are perfect, not broken, I mean, or wore out: They have five double lines, made of two distinct rows of pricks, or full-points, as it were; but with great variety. For in some, every row is double, very artificially set out. The points in most, are, as it were, dented in the stone: in some others, extant, or eminent: but still five, curiously drawn from the top, and all (or most of them) meeting in one *center*, which is, as it were, a *navel*: which *navel*, as also the *vertex*, or very top, seemeth in some of them, to be a body by it self, or a different piece, and separable from the rest; but closely joynted, or joyned. I have sought into them, diligently, that write of stones; but hitherto, found

found but little, that satisfies me. They are not of the nature of ordinary stones, I am sure; but, as I conceive, owe their original to some kind of generation. Learned *Wormius*, who hath made a great collection of them; in his *Musæum Wormianum*, doth tell us, it is the opinion of some, that they ingender, even whilest stones; which his own observation, that he hath some, which have other little ones annexed and as it were proceeding from them, doth make the more probable: to him, at least. *Nec certè omninò abnuere possum*: he saith of himself. Most, that write of them, tell us, that by *Pliny*, they are called, *Ovum anguinum*, or *Snakes-egge*. It may be so; but what reason might enduce them, to think so, I must confess, that as yet I am to seek. His description is; *Vidi equidem id ovum mali orbiculati modici magnitudine crusta cartilaginis, velut acetabulis brachiorum polypi crebris, insigne Druidis*; which before I take upon me to translate, I must understand better, than I do. Sure I am, here is no mention of the five *lines*, or *tails*, as *Gesnerus* calls them, the most eminent thing in these kind of stones. Besides, whether a true *ovum anguinum*, or no, the trial is, saith *Pliny*, *Si contra aquas fluitet, vel auro vinctum*: Will these stones do so? I have so little belief they will, that I never yet could be so idle, as to make trial. But again, he writes of them as *stones* or *eggs* rather, (for he doth not at all, in all his description, make them to be *stones*, or call them so) *of great Worth* and rarity; which, if these kind of stones be not much rarer in *Italy*, than they are in *England*, cannot be true of them. Nor even so neither. For *England*, where they are so common, being then in the power of the *Romans*, they could not be very rare at *Rome*, if in any request. He tells of many strange, or rather admirable qualities, which the *Druids*, and *Magicians* reported of them; but not as believing them. However, if that be true, he

seems

ſeems to report in good earneſt, that a *Roman* Knight, whom he names, was put to death by *Claudius*, for having one of them about him, when he was in ſuit of law, hoping by the help of it, to become victorious; it will follow, that this Snakes-egge was accounted a *magical* thing, which will agree well enough with thoſe things, that are written, and by ſome believed, of the vertues of theſe *Thunder-ſtones.* But this is not much, to perſwade me, that they are the thing intended by *Pliny*, by *ovum anguinum*, when ſo many other things are againſt it. Let me add, that the figures of theſe *ſtones*, ſet out by *Wormius* and *Geſnerus*, though they agree ſo well, that a man may ſuſpect, they had them the one from the other; yet not very like, in either of them, to thoſe ſtones that I have. For whereas their figures between the lines, are *ſcabrous*, or full of little *protuberances* or *eminences*, like little warts, as *Geſnerus* calls them; mine are ſmooth in thoſe *interſtices*, one or two excepted, which might contract their raggedneſs, from the ground, where they did long lie. I have one ſo ſmooth, that one half of it is perſpicuous or *pellucid*, and doth repreſent within, ſome kind of circles or *tunicles*, like Onions-coats; which alſo hath this ſingular, that in one ſide of the circumference, it hath a little round excreſcence, as it were a Wen, or a Wart, but ſmooth. The truth is, the figures in *Wormius* do not agree with his deſcription. The *deſcription* tells us, that the *lines* or *tails*, *ab apice*, *in baſin*: from the *top*, to the *navel*, as I call it; or as he, not improperly, (alluding to the *modiolus* of a wheel, where the *radii* meet, and are faſtened) *modiolum*, do *excurrere*: the *figure* fetcheth them from the *baſis*: which is ſo main a difference, that *Geſner* by that chiefly doth diſtinguiſh them from the true, or ſuppoſed, *ovum anguinum*, or *Snakes-egge*: by ſome ſuppoſed to be a *Toads*, and by others, the egge of a *Tortoiſe*.

Tortoise. And as to the stones, which *Wormius* under one figure, and under one kind, by the name of *Brontia*, *Thunder-stone*; or *ovum anguinum* doth describe; *Gesner* hath the figure of them in another place, (page 166. of my Edition) under no certain name: and Chapter 3. p. 59. *&c.* under the title of *Brontia*, *Ombria*, and *Ceraunia*: which are the right figures of the stones, which (but with much more variety) I have, very well, and fully enough described by *Wormius*. But it is time I should end this, occasioned meerly by the mention of *Thunder*, & *Thunder-marks*; and some kind of affection *I* bear unto these stones, which seem to me to promise somewhat more than ordinary, and worthy to be enquired after. As old as I am, I could be content to be carried a good way, (for go I cannot, I am sure) to learn somewhat of them, not so much of their *vertues*, as of their *production*, which to me seems a great secret of nature. Yet when I consider, that nature doth seem to take some pleasure in those kind of figures, which consist of five divisions, as by the *Stella marina*, (not to speak of *five fingers*, and *five toes* in man: besides what in divers other creatures is answerable to either: *five senses*, &c. is another thing, because not apparent externally) a Sea-fish: *stella Solis*, &c. described and figured by *Bellonius*, and others; and by those prety stones, ordinarily known (and so described by *Gesner*, *de fig. lap.* p. 37. &c.) under the name of *asteriæ*, *astroitæ*, &c. as also by the *pentaphyllum*, whereof there be many kinds and the like: (to all, or any of which, whether the *Pythagoreans*, by their mystical *quinary*, by them called ὑγεία, which consisted of three triangles, joyned or interlaced into five points, or angles, described by *Lucian*, had any reference, I shall not now inquire) and again, that some Naturalists by many pregnant instances, do maintain, that neither Sea, nor Land doth produce any thing, but

but is imitated and represented in some kind, by some kind of *fossile* in the bowels of the Earth: (whence so many bones of Fishes, yea whole Fishes, imperfect, as to the form, but perfect stone, are found, and digged up out of the Earth, even upon high hills, far from the Sea: some my self have, and look upon, when occasion offers its self, with pleasure, and admiration) these things considered, I think it is possible, these stones may be nothing else, (but even so, well deserving some kind of admiration) but some kind of *fossiles*; nature aiming by them at the representation of somewhat that doth live, or grow, either in the Sea, or upon the Land. But I forget my self.

BUT now to return to our *Wells* Thunder; the *additional* of the relation, which I have promised, is more strange to me, than any thing in the said *relation*; if it be true. For since no mention of it is made in the exhibited *relation*, I cannot absolutely satisfie my self, that it is true; much less can I warrant it to others. This premised, that which came to me, whilest I lived in that Country, from some others, who pretended perfect knowledge of the thing, is this: A certain man, they said had been not long before inducted into a *Benefice* in that Country, of whom there was a report, (but no proof) that he was addicted to the black Art. This man being summoned, as the fashion is, by authority, to Preach in the *Cathedral*, took his Text: *Thou God of Spirits*: (I was told no more, as I remember) out of *Numb.* 16. 22. or 17. 16. and whilest he was in his discourse about *Spirits*; (of purpose it may be, to confirm the opinion of some, that he had to do with them, thinking thereby, to be looked upon as an extraordinary man; though perchance no such thing really) this storm of Thunder hapned. Concerning which, I have now, besides the *relation*, delivered *bona fide*, what my memo-

ry afforded unto me: which perchance may receive some illustration from what, not out of my memory, but out of my book, whereof I keep such things, which I have by the relation of others, and would not forget; I have yet to say. However, if there be any mistake, rather than his name should suffer, from whom I had it, I will take it upon me: He was one of the Clergy, and a frequent Preacher in this *Cathedral*, to their very good liking, that could distinguish (which few do or can) between *sense*, and *sound*: solid good matter, I mean, and a plausible voice and delivery, which hath been treated of at large by me, with an accurate examination of the natural causes, in another book. I shall not conceal his name to any that have known him: to others, it is needless. The account of my book is this: 17. *Iul. Anno Dom.* 1638. of Mr. *&c.* That about some thirty years ago, when he was a young Scholar in *Trinity* Colledge [in *Cambridge*] as they were in the Hall, at the Greek Lecture, the Reader then reading upon *Aristophanes* his Νεφέλαι, (he thinks) and perticularly treating of the word κεραυνός, (that is, *Thunder*) there came a sudden clap of Thunder, that struck them all down, and some a good space from the place, where they stood: astonished all, and deaded one, for the space of six hours, who also continued lame of it, for three months after: and split one of the main rafters of the roof, in two, *&c.* there being no appearance of any Rain, or Thunder before.

THUS *verbatim*, as I entred it in my book, how long after, I know not, but probably not long after. However, I cannot promise I have exhibited his own words, and therefore if there be any impropriety, or mistake in the exposition, I desire, that may be imputed unto me. Now supposing this, as I believe it true, I do not propose it, as a matter of great admiration: but

well worthy of consideration, and which may give some light to such accidents. For, among so many daily events or accidents, which have nothing in them, but what is ordinary; what wonder is it, if by meer chance, as in the casting of many stones at random, something happen that is not ordinary? It is possible, a blind man, if he shoot often, may hit the mark, when an expert shooter may miss, if he shoot but once or twice. Such a Thunder, I am sure, was nothing but usual enough; especially, if at a seasonable time of the year, as this probably, because nothing observed to the contrary. And that at such a time, when such a *Lecture* was read, which treated of, or mentioned *Thunder*; if there were no more in it than I have heard, that is, that, not the person reading, nor, any then present, were justly suspected; such a thing should happen, might be a chance. Neither should I make much more of the former *relation*, if the second part of it, whereof I have no certainty, be not as true.

NOW to *enchantments* again, the validity whereof, because, of old, so controverted, that *Pliny*, as before observed, thought no age would, or could decide it; and of late there have not wanted learned sober men, who have maintained the contrary opinion, though I have been long upon it, from *men* to *beasts*; not *Serpents* only, (justified by the Scriptures) but *horses*, *dogs*, *bulls*; and all this by certain undeniable instances, sufficiently proved; I will yet before I end this subject, instance in some other kind, not yet spoken of, which, as the humors of men are, may perchance affect some Readers as much, or more, than any of the former instances.

THE hunting of an inchanted *Hare* I have read, by an excellent pen: who doth acknowledge never to have seen it himself, (his *hunting* was after books, he saith of

himself,

himſelf, not Hares: it was mine too, when I was able) but doth ſet it out upon the credit of divers Huntſmen, as a thing not at all to be doubted of. I wiſh it were not true, but I doubt not, but there be too many in the world, who would make no ſcruple to go to the *Devil*, not for their profit only, but alſo for their *ſport*, and meer divertiſement: and that others there be, who to ſatisfie them, who have more conſcience, will deviſe ſomewhat to make them believe it is lawful enough, though done by the *Devil*, being done but for *ſport*: or if that will not do it, that ſuch a thing may be contrived, without the *Devil*. Let a man but once begin to indulge againſt his conſcience, by degrees he will ſtick at nothing. Ὁ ῥυπῶν, ῥυπωσάτω ἔτι: it is a juſt judgment of God, whereof this age doth afford many ſad examples. My Author doth ſtile himſelf, *Prædicateur du Roy*. [*Eſſay des merveilles de nature*, &c. *par Revé Francois*, *Prædicateur du Roy*: *à Rouan* 1626.] If ſo, me-thinks it would have become well a man of that profeſſion, to have ſaid ſomewhat, whereby it might have appeared unto the world, that he did not allow of ſuch practices, as lawful. Truly, one great reaſon that hath moved me to take notice, is, to ſhew my deteſtation, of what my Author doth leave without cenſure. This that follows, is more harmleſs I hope, becauſe I have read of ſtrange things, that dumb creatures, even wild beaſts are capable of, by the induſtry of man: I have read a relation, whereof *Julius Scaliger* is the Author, of a tame wild-Boar; or if that ſound too much of a contradiction, of a wild Boar, by art and induſtry ſo tamed, and diſciplin'd, that he would hunt with the Dogs, as skilful and obedient as the beſt of them, and do his Maſter very good ſervice. This, to ſome may ſeem *incredible*: but to them that have not read, what fierceſt beaſts, by art and induſtry (who therefore have been by many

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed not altogether deſtitute of reaſon) have been brought unto. Yet I would not warrant, but that this fierce Boar, by nature, might return to his nature, ſome time or other ; or, at leaſt do ſome acts of a fierce beaſt. But for *Agrippa*'s black Dog, though denied by ſome, who would have us to think well of him, (*Agrippa*, I mean) becauſe they do, as *Wierius* and ſome others ; yet upon the atteſtation of ſo many others of better credit, I cannot but think of it, as a creature of another nature.

NOTHING now remains, and that too before promiſed, but to conſider of *Galen*'s opinion, and what may *rationally* be objected from his authority. For that ſuch a man as *Galen*, a right ingenuous man, a lover of truth, as I always accounted him, who lived to be a very old man, and conſequently not leſs experienced, than he was learned ; that he ſhould in all thoſe books of his, now extant, as often as occaſion offered it ſelf, declare himſelf as one who gave no credit at all to ſuch things, and made no better account of them, than arrant juggling ; I look upon it I muſt confeſs, as a weighty objection. To this we might anſwer, that though *Galen* was a man of great authority, yet he was but one, to whom the authority of many famous Phyſicians in his time, or ſoon after, not to ſpeak of thoſe before, might be oppoſed. It is the priviledge, if not affected humor, of ſome great men of real worth ; who alſo know themſelves to be ſo, in the opinion of the world, to hold ſome *Paradoxes* ; and perchance being unadviſedly fallen upon them in their younger years, they think it (a great error) againſt their credit to acknowledge it, when they are old. Beſides, what if *Galen* thought thoſe things, not altogether falſe perchance, yet diſhonourable to his profeſſion, and of evil conſequence to mankind, by reaſon of the increaſe of impoſtors, and impoſtures, if credit

dit were given to the validity of *inchantments*; in point of *cures* especially? And that this may not appear a suspition without all ground, doth he not in his books *de Compos. Medicum, l.b.* 3. *cap.* 2. where he treats of the Cures of the *Parotides*, reject *Archigenes* his advice, of anointing the place infected with the bloud of a *mustela*, upon this very ground, because such prescriptions, if so received, would be prejudicial to the art, as though so defective in those cases, that without such helps it could not work a cure: professing, that for this very reason, he had forborn to make trial, and therefore could not tell, whether it would or not? The Reader may remember, what was said of *Valesius* before. But all this will not need, if we stick to *Trallianus* (who is conceived to have lived in *Theodosius* his time, not many ages after *Galen*) his answer, which is, that whatever his opinion hath been formerly, yet in his latter years, convinced by manifest and frequent experience, he did recant and acknowledge his error. *Galen* his words, as he doth exhibit them out of his book, Περὶ τῆς καθ᾽ Ὅμηρον ἰατρικῆς, in Greek are; Ἔνιοι οὖν οἴονται τὰς γραῶν μύθοις ἐοικέναι τὰς ἐπῳδάς· ὥσπερ κἀγὼ μέχρι πολλοῦ. Τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναργῶς φαινομένων ἐπείσθην εἶναι δύναμιν ἐν αὐταῖς, &c. that is: *There be, I know, who think of Charms no better than of old womens tales. And so did I for a long time: but at last, by the evidence of those things that did clearly appear unto me, I am perswaded that they are efficacious. For in their case that are bitten by a Scorpion, I have found them useful. And and in their case who had bones that stuck in their throats, which they did presently cast out by the help of Incantation. And many noble atchievements in every kind of disease are wrought by it, when it doth not misse of*

its end. Or if you will, with the Latine interpreter; *Ac multa præclara singulæ habent incantationes, cum institutum consequuntur.* Either way, *Galen* doth acknowledge that they are not always effectual: which to believe, or to maintain, were very absurd, and contrary to providence, and to the course of nature in general. But of that, enough hath been said before. Hereupon *Trallianus* doth conclude; *If then divine* Galen, *and most of the ancients with him,* &c. But where shall we find this in *Galen*, or where this book of *Galens*? In the Latine Edition indeed of his works, there is a book of that subject to be found, but not worthy *Galen*'s name, most are of opinion: However, though not extant at this time, nor mentioned by *Galen* in the *Catalogue* of his books, after which he might write many books, as we know St. *Austin* did some, which are not mentioned in his *Retractations*; yet it is not likely that *Trallianus*, whose love to the truth, made him not to spare his so much admired *Galen*, when he saw just cause, as himself in his fifth book (not to mention other places) doth abundantly declare; durst mention such a book, except such a one had been then extant in *Galen*'s name, or could be mistaken in his judgment concerning the Author, whom he had read so diligently, as by his writings doth appear. So that even *Valesius*, though he doth write against the opinion maintained by *Trallianus*; yet he doth, upon his authority, yield it, as unquestionable, that such a book was then extant, written by *Galen*. As he, so *Fererius*, who hath written a Chapter of that argument, and entituled it, as *Galen* had his *Treatise*.

NOW because in those times most *incantations*, used, not only by the *Jews*, but by *Gentiles* also; as by *Trallianus*, by *Lucian*, by *Origen*, and by others may appear, had the name of *Dominus Sabaoth*, as a chief ingredient; it is observable, that some godly Fathers, who knew

knew *Christians* had more right to that name, than either *Gentiles* or *Jews* of those times had; thought it no superstition, to commend unto them the nomination of *the Lord of Sabaoth* upon such occasions, not as an *inchantment*, but a lawful prayer. So doth *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*, in his book, *De Adoratione Spirituali, lib. 6.* whose words perchance some might interpret, as though he allowed those words to them that have faith, as a lawful *charm.* But what he writes in that very place against all kind of *inchantments*, as unlawful, and forbidden by God; may sufficiently acquit him from any such intention. But I cannot acquit *Origen*, neither is it much material, except I could acquit him of so many other pestilent errors, wherewith he stands charged in the Ecclesiastical story, and his books yet extant, though much purged by *Ruffinus*, the Latine interpreter, proclaim him guilty of. In his 20. *Homily*, upon *Josuah*, part of which, in Greek, is preserved in that *Philocalia*, collected out of his works; he doth very erroniously ascribe power to the very words and letters of ordinary *charms*; for which he doth appeal to common experience; and consequently would have the very letters, or words of the Scripture in any language, though not understood, if but read and pronounced, to be of great power and efficacy; which as it is against the very principles of Natural Philosophy, so against the determination of all sober *Philosophers*, *Physicians*, and *Divines.*

YET as there is nothing so uncouth or absurd, but shall meet with a Patron: so hath this opinion of the efficacy of bare *sounds and letters*, met with some, in our age: as *Thomas Bartholinus* for one. This *Thomas Bartholinus*, one of the King of *Denmarks* Physicians, the Author of many curious pieces; if he be not either too credulous sometimes, or too ambitious, to be the reporter of strange things; in his *Centuriæ, Historiarum Anatomicarum*

carum rariorum, upon the experience of some, to whom he doth give credit, doth maintain, that the *Epilepsie* may be cured by *charms*, and those charms upon a natural account of the causes not unlawful. His reason I will not stand to examine. I think they will not perswade very many, besides those, who think well enough of *charms* in general, whatever it be that makes them effectual; but would be glad to find a plausible pretence.

THIS mention of *Bartholinus*, puts me in mind of a strange story. I profess again seriously, as I have done before, this *Discourse* was never undertaken by me, to tell the Reader strange stories, though true; which might have made it much more both easie and voluminous. Yet the use that may be made of this, in point of *Credulity* or *Incredulity*; in case any such report, as very probably, may occur of any other place or Country; besides what inferences or experiments may be made upon it, for the publick good, if this be true, makes me take notice of it; and the rather, because having enquired of divers Travellers into those parts, whom I have had the opportunity to consult about it: I have not, as yet, met with any, that could give me any account. Now the story is this: In *Italy*, not above twelve leagues (they reckon there by *miles* ordinarily, but he saith, 12. *leucis*) near a Town or Village, vulgarly known, he saith, by the name of *Il Sasso*: (in Latin, *Braccianum*) there is a Cave, commonly called *the Cave of Serpents*. Serpents at all times, it seems, but at some time of the year, more certainly, and solemnly, frequent it in great number. And then, if any troubled and afflicted with any ordinary disease, proceeding from a cold cause; as the *Palsie*, *Leprosie*, *Dropsie*, &c. come and lie down, immovable; which the better to do some take *Opium* beforehand; Serpents will come about him, and suck him, or lick him, till he be well. He tells of

of more, but of one *Cardinal* among the rest, particularly, who being desperately ill, there recovered. Many other things he tells of it, which, it seems, with other company, he went of purpose to see. This upon the report of the Country people he more delivers of it, which sounds somewhat of a fable, that one of the Serpents, *Coronâ insignitus*, adorned with a kind of Crown, as the governor of the rest useth to come out of his hole first, and after diligent search, if he finds all things safe, gives notice unto the rest. This, if true, may give light to some other story, which, as I said before, made me the more willing to take notice of it.

BY this, I hope, yea and before this, as I have said before; but that I had some consideration of the good use, that might be made of what did offer it self over & above; but now again, by this, I hope, it will be granted by all, that do not profess wilful *incredulity*, and contradiction; that many things happen *supernaturally*, which are above the sphere and activity of the believed, and beloved *atomes*, and can be referred to no other cause, but the operations of *Dæmons*, or evil *Spirits*: which once secured; *Atheism* hath lost its greatest prop, and the mockers and scoffers of the time, the chiefest object of their confidence and boasting; which though not our immediate subject, yet of purpose, as before said, did we make choice of such instances of *Credulity* and *Incredulity*, that we might, *una fidelia* (as they say) *duos parietes*; and yet still according to my Title, in this *First Part*, have I kept within the bounds of *things Natural*, which by many, according to the *genius* of the times, are laid for a foundation of *Atheism*; or at least for the undermining of *Christianity*: which they that profess, & yet secretly endeavour to undermine, deserve to be accounted the worst of *Atheists*. I have now but a word or two concerning *Divination* and *Prodigies*, in general, because in all ages a main object of *Credulity* and

Incredulity, to add; and then we shall see what *observations* more we can draw from the premised instances, and so conclude; which I begin to be weary of, as much as any Reader can be, this *first Part.*

DIVINATION, as it belongs unto God, more properly; (nay unto God *only*, if it be true *divination*; that is, such as hath no dependance from any natural cause, according to the course of nature, established by God in Heaven, or in Earth; but the will of God only) we have nothing to do with it here. Of other *divination*, common to men and Angels, (whether good or bad) but in a different degree, which is grounded upon the knowledge of natural causes, long observation and experience, and the like: First, *Humane*, so far as may be accounted for by natural causes, no man doth doubt of; though many things by men that have a natural sagacity, improved with long study and experience, may be done, or foretold upon grounds of *reason*, which by them that are not acquainted with such things, may be thought *incredible*; of which more afterwards. Secondly, *Dæmoniacal*, whether immediately by themselves, or by their instruments, which they that do not believe the existence of Devils and Spirits, are obliged to deny; is that which we are to consider of, so much as may concern us, to settle, or direct the belief of others, who may need it, and are content to hear reason. Further than that, we have no intention, or ingagement to meddle with it; which elsewhere we have done more largely, and concerning which, there be so many books already extant, as that it would be no small work to find any gleanings, worthy the acceptation of judicious men; as it would be very easie, (the work of most writers) out of which others have done, to compile whole volumes. Among us, of late writers, *Peucerus* is most known, who hath written a large volume *De Divinatione*. I wish he

he had left out his *Divinity*, which fills a great part of the book; I should think better of it: though even so, the rest doth not give me that satisfaction, which I might have expected from a learned man. For, approved instances, or experiments, (as I may call them) he hath few or none; and what is it, the wit of man can find out in such an abstruse subject, but what is grounded (besides the authority of Scripture) upon experience? *Raguseius*, a *Venetian*, *Theologus*, *Medicus & Philosophus*, as he is stiled, by himself, or by his friends; hath written two very learned Books, *De Divinatione*; but the greatest part is against *Judicial Astrology*, which he once professed himself, and got credit by it, he saith himself; but was so honest and conscientious, that notwithstanding the credit he got by it, he would be a *jugler* (his own word) no more; and to make amends to God and the World, for what he had been or done, thought himself bound in conscience, to write against it. I think I could reckon half a hundred, or more: but that is not my business.

THE several kinds of *Divination*, that have been used anciently, (and are yet most of them) and have got a proper appellation, as κοσκινομαντεία, λιβανομαντεία, δακτυλομαντεία, and the like, are so many, that even to reckon them, would take some time. At the end of *Agrippa*, *De occulta Philosophia*, in that Edition I have, there is a pretty full inventory of them. So in *Delrio*, *Pucerus*, *Wierius*; and many others. To these, if we add those, which by the relation of Travellers are proper almost to every Country or Nation, where Christ is not known; there being scarce any Country, for any other thing so wretched and barbarous, but hath attained to so much knowledge, (if we may call that knowledge, which doth commonly most abound, where brutish ignorance and savageness hath its reign) as to be masters of some kind

of *Divination* or other. Of thoſe many kinds that have anciently been uſed, and of thoſe many that have been ſince deviſed, made known unto us by the relation of Travellers; I ſhall take notice of one or two particularly, and then proceed, with ſubmiſſion to better judgments, to a general concluſion concerning them all.

OF thoſe anciently uſed, which I ſhall take notice of, the firſt (becauſe, where we have the relation of *Augerius* the Phyſician, his haunted houſe promiſed) ſhall be ὀνυχομαντεία. Ὀνυχομαντεία, or nail-*divination*, ſaith *Delrio* is, by anointing the nail of an impolluted boy, with ſome kind of oil, or ſout; and uſing ſome conjuration of words; to ſee things at a far diſtance, and the event of things long before. But of an *impolluted boy*: why ſo? Let no man think the better of the *Devil* for that, or of this kind of Divination. It is *Porphyrius* his *obſervation*, or *admiration* rather, long ago, recorded by *Euſebius* in his own words; and ſince *Euſebius*, by St. *Auguſtine*, in Latin; his *admiration* I ſay, why ſuch maſters of uncleanneſs, in point of life and actions, ſhould nevertheleſs, in their *myſteries*, ſtand ſo much for cleanneſs, and *purity*. *Porphyrius*, who might very well know, as one that had ſerved them a long time, doth but propoſe the queſtion by way of *admiration*; he doth not anſwer it: any Chriſtian may, who is taught, that the *Devil* is the author of all *evil*, all *uncleanneſs*, and affects nothing more; yet is an *impoſtor*, withall, and would be thought an *Angel of light*; and to that end, doth amuſe them that ſerve him, with ſome ſhews of *holineſs*, in *rites* and *ceremonies* of his own inſtitution, that he may be thought to love, what in truth, and ſincerity of life, he doth abhor. And as he, ſo his ſervants, that promote his intereſt in the world by *ſects* and *diviſions*. What more rife in their mouths, and ordinary or external behaviour, than *holineſs* and *purity*? I need to ſay no more; the reſt is too well known. But this by the way only. Now to the *nail-*

Divi-

Divination; Delrio saith, he knew a *veteran Spaniard*, who did practise it, and instances in some particulars of his *Divination*: moreover observes of the same, that though he could (he doth attest it, it seems) by *charms* and *incantations* cure the wounds of others; yet neither would cure his own, nor suffer them to be cured by others, by the same means. Some may mistake him, as though the man he speaks of, made scruple, for some hidden reason, to have inchantments used upon himself, although he did not scruple to use them upon others; which is not impossible. But I rather believe his meaning is, though the man with *bare words*, as apprehended by many, but very erroniously could cure other mens bodily diseases; yet the wounds of his soul, whilest he continued in that base practice and service, *longe graviora*, (that is wanting in Delrio, to make his expression full) much more grievous, and much more to be dreaded; the proper cure whereof, are *words*, (good advice and instruction, according to that of *Horace*, *Sunt verba & voces*: that is, *charms*, and by *charms* understanding, *sermones Philosophicos*; as that which followeth doth evince) he refused, miserable wretch, either to admit, when offered, or to procure from others. What Delrio doth here attest of one, *Filesacus*, *De Magia Idolol.* doth attest of another, not upon his own knowledge, but upon the report of a man of quality, to him well known: *nobili & generoso*, are his words. But enough of this.

ANOTHER kind of Divination is, that they call ὑδρομαντεία, of which they reckon divers *species*. One was, or is, to hang a ring by a thred, and to cast it, or to hold it over a boul of water, so that it touch not the water. But this is nothing without the *charm*, that belongs unto it. After that, by the knocks of the ring upon one of the sides, which how many they shall be, or how few, to signifie so and so, is before agreed upon; the event (God permitting, as always) is declared. I have known

some-

ſomewhat, which in outward appearance may ſeem to have ſome affinity, though to another end: which is, to know the hour of the day. It was my luck once, at an Inne, in very good company, to ſee ſome trial of it. The ring did hit juſt ſo many times againſt one ſide of the glaſs, as the clocks did ſtrike, or had ſtruck hours, and then ſtood ſtill. I ſaw it, when the ring was in the hands of ſome, that wondred at it, as much as I, and had never ſeen it done before. Yet I am ſure, no *charm* was uſed, which is the main buſineſs; nor any of the company ſuſpected. Yet the motion of the hand, in ſuch a caſe, not eaſily diſcernable, might deceive them, that look, if the actor had any purpoſe to juggle: which, I am confident, was not the intention of any then preſent: not theirs eſpecially, who wondred at it, and made trial themſelves for better ſatisfaction; which was done then by ſome, who found it ſo too. But the ſureſt trial would be, to hang the ring upon a little frame, made gallows-wiſe, and if then alſo, truly I ſhould not ſtick to conclude, that there is ſomewhat in it more than *natural*; and ſhould adviſe them that profeſs they had often tried it, both by day and by night, as ſome did to me ſince, with great proteſtation, that it never fail'd; earneſtly adviſe them never more to meddle in it.

IN the life of St. *Hilarion*, written by St. *Jerome* mentioned before, we have a notable example of *Hydromancy ſupernatural*, but not *Diabolical*. The rites indeed, and ceremonies, *charming* excepted, were much alike; but the efficacy not from the *Devil*, but God. And probably, God might prompt that holy man to uſe the ſame rites (but without their words) that *Magicians* did, to convince them that aſcribe much to them, as all *Magicians* do; that the efficacy was not from the outward viſible rites and ceremonies themſelves, which to that effect were but ridiculous; but from an *inviſible* cauſe,

cause, or agent, whether good or bad; and withal the better to manifest his power, who could use their own weapons against themselves, that trusted to them; as we see he did in the case of *Balack* and *Balaam*; when *Balaam's inchantments* intended for a curse, were, by Gods power, turned into a blessing. Upon such extraordinary examples, we can ground no warrant for our imitation, no more than by *casting of rods upon the ground, or smiting of the dust of the earth*; we may lawfully attempt *to turn rods into Serpents*, or, *the dust* into *Lice*, because *Moses* did both; for which he had an express command from God, but we none. That *Hilarion* also had a command, or commission for what he did, if pious indeed, and holy, as represented unto us by St. *Jerome*, who might know better than we, I think we are bound to believe.

OF those kinds of *Divination* used at this day (besides the Ancients) which we have knowledge of, none, I think, either for the certainty, if reports be true, or for the manner, more notable, or considerable, than that which is described by *Leo Africanus* (a man of no small credit among them, who are well versed in the History of the world) highly esteemed, and chiefly practised in *Africa*, in *Fez* (one of the Royal Cities of that part of the world) especially. The particulars of it are there to be seen in the Latin translation of it, *lib.* 3. *p.* 131. as also in the English, in *Purchas his Pilgrimage*: (a book of very good worth, with them that know the right use, and more valued abroad, than it is at home by many) *second Tome, page* 796, *&c.* It is a very perplex and intricate way, and requires great learning: but if as many think, there be nothing of *Magick* in it, and that it never fails, which some, even Christians, have been bold to affirm, well worth the labour. *Leo Africanus* from the report of others, speaks of it very moderately; he

he doth not affirm either. He professeth, that being offered the learning of it, by some, well able to teach him, he durst not meddle with it, because it hath so much affinity with the black Art. What religion the man was of, when he wrote, I cannot gather certainly by this book of his: but a *Mahometan* I guess, though there be places, that savour of *Christianity*; as in the description of *Nilus*: if he did not himself alter those places of purpose, in his *Italian* translation of his original *Arabick*, after he was become a *Christian*. *Erpennius*, whom I have reason to remember with honour, for the honour he did to me, when very young; but much more, for his noble performances, out of his purse, (being wealthy) partly; and partly by his excellent knowledge and industry, to promote the knowledge so difficult before, of the *Arabick* tongue: he also is one of them, that did believe this art, or way of *Divination* infallible; though, and so we must excuse it, he might speak the more favourably of it, out of his love and respect to that noble tongue. For my part, I shall not scruple to conclude it, if not *divine*, for which there is no ground at all, than fallible, and more than probably, notwithstanding all pretences to *nature*, *diabolical*. Certain enough, were it known *infallible*, there would be greater resort to it from all parts of the world; and many more of all Nations would apply themselves to the study of it, and that it doth so often prove true, as generally believed, is argument enough to me, because not *Divine*, that it is *Diabolical*.

I WILL not troub'e my self, nor my Reader, with the relation of more kinds of *Divination*, used at this day, in several Countries, which all stories of *travels*, almost, into those parts of the world, where *Christianity* is not professed, afford examples of, different from those used in other Countries. Concerning all which my

my opinion is, not that they are *infallible* any one of them, which I know cannot be: but that, really, by all, or most of them, where the Relator doth faithfully acquit himself, and doth not wilfully counterfeit and impose, or ignorantly mistake, which may easily be avoided, where we have variety of *relations*, from several Authors, that doe not borrow one from another, to compare; but this case excepted, my opinion is, that really by all, or most kinds of these *divinations*, even those that may seem most ridiculous, strange things are foretold. Besides printed *relations*, so many, in several languages, of men of all Countries, and professions, in this our *Europe*: I have heard the depositions, or attestation of more than one intelligent man, and in their lives and conversations, and in their discourse too, very sober and serious, who protested to have been present, when such and such things, some in one place, some in another, were foretold, which hapned accordingly. But secondly, to believe that any of those things, that really came to pass, were foreseen and foretold by vertue, or by any natural efficacy of those rites and ceremonies, words, or actions, that were used, in, or by any of those kindes of *Divination*, whereof some are apparently most horrible and abominable; others, as sottish and ridiculous, were, I think, not much less ridiculous, or abominable. Neither shall I except *Judicial Astrology*; which though apparently, it be more mysterious, and deal in things more specious and sublime: yet, in very deed, is founded upon meer imaginary suppositions, and Poetical fictions, words and names, which have no ground at all in nature; as by them that have taken great pains in the

the search of it, and have set out the vanity of it; and even by them, that have done their utmost, to uphold the credit of it, otherwise; but could never answer those things that are opposed; is acknowledged. Yet to say, that nothing, that hath strangely been foretold by profest *Astrologers*, according to the rules and maximes of their Art, such as they are; besides what may be supposed to have hapned by meer chance, as in the multitude of predictions, some things must, and do, were to contradict the experience of all ages, of all places; and to give men some ground, to doubt, whether there be any such thing as truth in the world.

AND what shall we say of the *Oracles* of the ancient times? That many of those things that went under that name, were meer jugling, and roguery, I grant it: but that they were nothing else, I think a man that hath read ancient Authors, and Histories, Greek and Latin, may as well doubt, whether ever really any such men as *Socrates*, or *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; ever any such place as *Delphos*, and *Dodona*, and *the like*; as to doubt of the accomplishment of many of those things, so foretold, as read in the Histories of those times. And to me it is a greater argument of Gods power and providence, that upon the *Incarnation* of his Son, the long promised and expected Oracle of the world, and the propagation of his Gospel, all those *Oracles*, attended before with so much solemnity; should in all places, to the great wonder and amazement of wisest Heathens, as by *Plutarch's* Treatise of that subject doth appear, did cease, or begin to cease in all places: than any matter of wonder, or offence, that God should give so much power to the *Devil*, (this always supposed, that his Providence in all answers, that were given, did over-rule, as himself pleased) in those times of darkness and ignorance. For though *Divination* doth yet, by Gods permission continue;

nue; yet all in that kind, is nothing in comparison of those ancient *Oracles*, in several places of the world; which all Nations almost of the then known world, did resort unto, with so much solemnity. However, even by the account the writers of those times have given us, it doth appear how much Gods power and providence did over-rule, and restrain the power of the Devil, (as before was said) as himself pleased: which made so many answers to be so ambiguously given, that which way soever the matter fell out, the *Devil* or *Dæmon* (as the *Merlins* of our days have a *providence* to save their credit) might not be found a lyar. But of Oracles particularly, I have said more elsewhere, which I shall not need here to repeat.

NOW to return to *Divination* in general; it is observable, that many things appear to us under the notion of *Divination*, which to *Devils* and *Dæmons* are no such thing: and that partly through the priviledge of their nature, as pure *spirits*, by their creation; and partly, by their experience, much improved by time, in all kind of knowledge, of things *natural*; and in the affairs of the world, relating unto men; to whom the most understanding men compared, in point of natural knowledge or wisdom, are but as children; yea very babes, and *simpletons*, if we may so speak. For example, if (in some remote part of the world, we will suppose) it be asked, whether any English-ship be coming, or, when to be expected; and the answer according to the way of *Divination* by such rites and ceremonies, as are usual in the Country be, *three days*, or *three months*: if the Ship or Ships be upon the Sea; they that can, as the most learned that write of these things, are of opinion, in a moment, as it were, convey bodies some hundred of miles; how easie is it for them to know, though yet five or six days sailing distant, whether

ther any ſuch be upon the Sea? Or if they ſay three *months*, and it prove ſo, what wonder, when even men, that are concern'd, and well acquainted with the courſe of thoſe affairs, and ſee the preparations, though they cannot foreſee many things which the *Devil* can, may probably conjecture, that within three, or ſix months, they may be at their journeys end, as it doth often happen? We might inſtance in a hundred things of the ſame nature; but this inſtance I have choſen, becauſe ſome that I have conferr'd with, who had known in their travels ſuch a thing done, more than once, did ſeem to make a great wonder of it. *Pauſanius*, I remember, in his fourth book, doth tell us of one *Ophioneus*, famous in thoſe days for *divination* among the *Græcians*; and his way; the more to be admired, becauſe in ſhew, it had nothing that was extraordinary, and yet was very effectual. As he doth expreſs it, it was this: πυνθανόμενος τὰ γινόμενα ἑκάστοις, ἰδίᾳ τε, καὶ ἐν κοινῷ, προέλεγεν οὕτω τὰ μέλλοντα: that is: *He would enquire what and how things had gone before, and ſo foretel both privately and publickly what ſhould come to paſs afterwards.* *Cicero* was famous for this kind of *Divination*, in his time, and ſeldom failed. The manners of it, and the grounds, he doth largely ſet out in an Epiſtle of his to *Cæcinna*, well worth the reading. What pity, that ſome in theſe days, who take upon them to be ſuch *Diviners*, have not more of this kind of *divination*; at leaſt, that they might not always ſo groſly miſtake? Now this kind, though of all other kinds of *divination* (ſetting true *propheſying*, by divine inſpiration, aſide) moſt lawful, and commendable, in States-men eſpecially; yet of all others, may be ſaid, as I conceive, moſt proper unto the *Devil*, as he is a ſpirit of ſuch ſtanding, ſince his firſt creation. For being altogether grounded upon a good head-piece, and long experience; the diſproportion between a man, and an

Angel,

Angel or Spirit, both in point of years and natural abilities; who doth not underſtand? Our conclusion then, as before, that there is not any kind of *divination* publickly practiſed, or commonly known, ſo ſtrange or ſo ridiculous, but by the *Devil's* intervention, to whom, what rites or ceremonies are uſed, or whether ſome or none, but only to amuſe, is altogether indifferent, is available ſometimes: and yet none, as to mans judgment, ſo plauſible, and ſo probable, but is *fallible*, and doth often deceive.

BUT that which in this matter of *Divination* moſt poſeth my reaſon, which alſo poſed *Ariſtotle* ſo much, that he could neither believe, nor yet abſolutely deny, is, that there be men and women, but *women* eſpecially, in whom reſteth a *ſpirit* of *divination*, (ſo expreſſed, *Acts* 16.16.) by which they foreſee, and foretel ſtrange things, and ſeldom miſs. All Hiſtories afford notable examples; ſo that even ſome that believe no *Spirits*, (whether a God, or no, I know not) yet acknowledg, There be ſuch, that foretel (they ſay) very certainly, for the moſt part. They impute it to a proper temperament, an ὀργασμὸς: any thing, ſo neither *God* nor *Devil* be in it. What great occaſion they had to fear him, ſhould they grant him an exiſtence, I know not. But one example, every where obvious, and well atteſted, (for in this alſo, as in all things, there is frequent miſtaking, and impoſture) I will inſtance in. *Innocentius* the Eighth, Pope of *Rome*, who ſent a man into *England*, or *Scotland* rather, named *Adrianus*, famous for his ſingular wiſdom, & judgment in matters of the world: which ſoon after, brought him unto *Henry* the Seventh, King of *England*, his favour; and his favour to the Biſhopprick of *Bath and Wells*, in *Sommerſetſhire*. Returned to *Rome*, and in great imployment under *Alexander* the ſixth; he was made a *Cardinal*; and after *Alexander*, flouriſhed under more than one, but under Pope *Leo* the Tenth particularly. It was his

ill luck, if not occasioned by any impiety, and unthankfulness to God, to grow acquainted with a woman, in whom such a *Spirit* was. Among many things, which she foretold, both publick and private, which in all points, and circumstances fell out accordingly; she also foretold, that one *Adrian* by name, born of mean parentage, preferred meerly by, and for his worth, should be *Pope* after *Leo*. This exactly agreeing with his case, and having had, he thought, sufficient proof of the truth of her predictions, he confidently applied it unto himself, and made no question, but he was the man, that should succeed Pope *Leo*. In this confidence, he began (such a bewitching thing is *Authority*, notwithstanding the sad examples every Age and Country, when too eagerly coveted, doth afford) to think the time long, before the Pope died; and, to hasten it, with some others, conspired against his life; and, though prevented, and pardoned, lived afterwards and ended his days miserably: or, if he had so much grace, as to think so, and to make a right use, more happily (because obscurely) and never heard of more, than before. But *Adrianus* is not our business. The womans prediction was verified by the event. For *Adrianus* the *sixth*, a man of mean parentage, of excellent worth, being then absent, was chosen: (of purpose, a man would think, for no such thing was intended, & scarce believed, when it was done) to verifie the prediction. But God forbid, we should so think seriously: but it fell out strangely, that cannot be denied. Now were it so, that this Spirit of *Divination* were found in men and women, such only, who by their life and conversation, did shew somewhat of either worth or godliness more than ordinary, (it is *Aristotle's* objection) it would not be so strange, or *incredible*. But for the most part, if not always, (true *prophets* excepted) it falls out quite contrary. And therefore

therefore by the law of God, such were to be put to death, *Lev.* 20. 27. And happy is that Kingdom, (for there God hath promised a blessing) where no such, who take upon them to *prophesie*, (whether their predictions prove true or no) are suffered to live. But *Credulity* and *Incredulity* is the thing we have to do with. What then shall we say? First, that *Aristotle's* objection is very plausible, and worthy of *Aristotle*; and the same objection lieth against the *Salutators* of *Spain*, who for the most part, are ignorant people, of a leud conversation; and yet are believed generally, to do strange cures. *Franciscus à Victoria*, of whom, besides *Grotius*, divers Protestants speak with good respect, is so put to it in this case, that he doth not know what to pitch upon; as himself doth ingenuously acknowledge. Of four opinions, which he doth propose, he doth leave us free to chuse which we will: Either that they cheat, and impose: or that, what they do, they do it by the *Devil*: or perchance, by a special grace, for reasons best known unto God: or lastly, that it may be a secret of a proper natural temperament. So still we are left in uncertainty. But against manifest experience, besides the authority from the word of God, there is no arguing, as to matter of fact. It is not any part of our task, to examine the reason. But, were the nature and divisions, or kinds of *Spirits* better known unto us, than they are, or should be ambitious to know, whilest we live; it is likely we might say more to it, than now we can. I shall conclude, that, as I account great *Incredulity* not to believe that there be such predictions; so, to believe them, before the event have confirmed them; to enquire after them; to regard them, is little less, than *Apostacy* from God, and from the true faith. If true sometimes, yet false often; but always dangerous, if not pernicious to them that hunt after them.

SAINT *Augustin* in one of his books *contra Academicos*, under the name of *Licentius*, one of the *Collocutors*, in that *Dialogue*, doth tell us of one *Albicerius*, a notable *Diviner*, in his time, well known unto him in his younger years, (an excusable curiosity, in that age, and profession) long before he was a Christian. Three or four notable stories he hath of him; but first of all, or before that, what kind of man he was, for his life. A very rogue, as any was in *Carthage*, and such a whoremonger (*innumera scorta*, saith St. *Augustin*) as scarce any age hath known the like. The first story is, that, consulted about some silver Spoons, that were missing, by a messenger; he presently told the owner of the Spoons, the thief, and the place, where they were at present. I believe some of our *London-Prognosticators*, have done as much, or near, if publick fame (though they may think it a credit) do them no wrong. Another time, when St. *Augustin*, or some of his familiar acquaintances, went to him, to be satisfied about somewhat, which he doth not relate; he, not only satisfied them in that, to the utmost of their expectation, or desire; but moreover, acquainted them, that their boy, or servant, by the way, had stoln some money out of the bag of money, which he carried after them: even before he had set his eyes upon the said boy, or servant; and forced him to restore every penny, before the masters of it did know, what, or how much had been taken away. A third story is, of one *Flaccianus*, well known to St. *Augustin*, it seems, who being about to purchase a piece of ground, went to this *Diviner*, or *Cunning-man*, to see, what he could tell him about it: who had no sooner seen *Flaccianus*, but presently told him what he was come about, and named the ground, or Farm, as it was ordinarily called; which *Flaccianus* himself (it seems, it was somewhat an uncouth hard name) did not well know. But the

the fourth ſtory, made St. *Auguſtin*, (a young man then) under the name and perſon of the ſaid *Licentius*, even tremble for amazement, whileſt he did relate it. A condiſciple of his, or one that had been, hearing ſo much of the man, and either not believing, or, for further trial, and to know the utmoſt of his power, went to him, and boldly and importunately challenged him, to tell him what it was he had in his thoughts: who, put to it, as he was, told him, he did think of *Virgil*. Being further asked, what particular place of *Virgil*, the man, though otherwiſe, ſcarce able to read, pronounced aloud, boldly and ſecurely, the very verſe of the Poet, he had then in his mind. Who makes any queſtion, but he, that did this, (no *man of God*, but a very rogue) was really poſſeſt by the Devil? And do we wonder at it; or rather wonder, that any, men or women, that take upon them to do ſuch things, in a Chriſtian Commonweal, ſhould be ſuffered to live? Or that any, that make uſe of ſuch, whether men or women, ſhould make any queſtion, (if Chriſtians by profeſſion and education) but that, in ſo doing, they go to the Devil? But ſome may wonder perchance, as St. *Auguſtin*, or his friend, did, at the firſt, (for afterwards he made nothing of it) that the Devil ſhould have ſuch power, which the *Scripture* doth ſeem to appropriate unto God, to know thoughts. But it is one thing, to have the thoughts of all men, in all places, at all times, open and naked, which belongs unto God only; &, by ſome ſubtilty or ſecret of nature, to know the thoughts of ſome men, at ſometimes, which the Devil can, it is certain, if God do not hinder: which men alſo, well acquainted with nature, by diligent obſervation of the eyes, and otherwiſe, may, in ſome part, attain unto. And why not this, as poſſible, as for men (but women rather) in the light, or day-time, at a good diſtance, to communicate, and to impart their thoughts,

 freely

freely and fully, without any noise or voice, by the observation of the lips only, and other parts about the mouth? A secret of nature lately discovered; of which more in my Treatise of *Enthusiasm*, Chapter 4. of the second Edition, page 181, *&c.* I name the *second* Edition: because, not so much of it in the *first* to be found.

AFTER *Divination*, somewhat, because of the affinity, may be expected of *Prodigies*, of which, as of *Divination*, much hath been written, and argued to and fro, by divers: and very lately by one, by some whom I have heard much commended. I therefore shall say the less; neither indeed doth my subject engage me, to say much. As all other things in the world, not determinable by sense, those especially that relate to God, and his providence, have been liable to *superstition* and *credulity*; so this of *prodigies*, as much as any. The ancient *Romans* have been noted for their excess, in this kind; and their best Historian, *Titus Livius*, for inserting that, into the body of his History, which stood upon publick records, hath been censured as fabulous: for which neverthelesss, he doth often excuse himself, and smartly doth censure the *credulity* of the people of those days. Yet I make no question, but by the contrivance of the *Devil*, in those days of ignorance and superstition, (as of *Oracles* was said before) for the increase of superstition, many things in that kind might happen, (besides what did by Gods order and appointment) which have not hapned so frequently since. But what excess soever they might justly be charged of, yet we must acknowledge, that the ground of it, *Quod omnium secundorum adversorumque causas in Deos* (had he but said, *Deum*) *verterent*: that is, in effect, *Because they believed a God, and a providence, the cause of all good and evil that hapneth unto men*; as the same *Livy* doth inform us; was commendable, which would make us (besides

sides other reasons) think the better of *prodigies* in these days, wherein *Epicurism* and *Atheism* do so mightily prevail. And it cannot be denied, but they lived then, generally, according to their belief; frugally and vertuously. Witness those rare Examples, those times afforded, scarce to be matched in any other age. And, as this belief made them vertuous; so their vertue, conquerors of the best, and greatest part of the then known world. Whereas when all observation of prodigies ceased, which the same *Livy* saith did proceed, *ab eadem negligentia, quâ nihil Deos portendere vulgo nunc credunt*: (a mild word *negligentia*, for *Atheism*, or *Epicurism*) all manner of vices, pride, luxury, covetousness, and the like, crept in; which occasioned their Civil wars; and their Civil war, with these vices, the ruine of that glorious *Empire*. Were there no other thing in the world, to perswade me; yet the authority of two such men, as *Camerarius* and *Melanchton*; so pious, so learned both, would make me not to reject all *prodigies*, whether publick or private. Yet it must be confessed, that where the opinion lights upon a man, who is naturally tender and fearful; and such was the nature of them both I have named, of *Melanchton* especially; it hardly escapes excess. But again, were there no other examples or instances of *prodigies* (known to me) than what hapned before the death of *Julius Cæsar*, the *Roman* Emperor; and what before *Henry* the Fourth, late King of *France*; who for their valour, and manner of death, may well be paralleled, being so well attested, as no rational man can make any question; I should think and acknowledge my self sufficiently convicted, that there be *prodigies*: presaging *prodigies*, I mean. And if in their case, why not in the case of many Princes, and others; such especially, who have been active men in the world, and made a great noise by their valourous or ventrous

atchievements, and undertakings? Always provided, that there be like evidence and atteſtation. I think I have read in *Julius Scaliger*, a man of ſingular as learning, ſo piety; ſome where; (I find it ſo in my papers, but not the place quoted) *Melior ſuperſtitio* (ſo it do not proceed to a breach of any particular command of Gods revealed word: ſo I underſtand it) *nimiâ ſobrietate, quæ facile degenerat in Atheiſmum*: that is, *Better is ſuperſtition, ſometimes, than too much ſobriety,* (or *cautelouſneſs*) *Which is apt ſoon to degenerate into Atheiſm.* At another time, perchance, I ſhould not think ſo well of it: But now when Atheiſm doth ſo prevail, and true Piety, under the name of *ſuperſtition*, ſubject to deriſion; I think the advice is not amiſs.

ANCIENT Heathens had an opinion, not unworthy the conſideration, that no *prodigie*, or bad *Omen*, could hurt them by the event, who did profeſs not to regard them, or could elude them by a contrary interpretation. *Pliny's* words to this purpoſe, are; *Exemplis apparere, oſtentorum vires & in noſtra poteſtate eſſe, ac, prout quæque accepta ſint, ita valere.* He doth add, *In Augurum certè diſciplina*, &c. that is, *That by the diſcipline of the Augures*, (a ſort of *Diviners* or *Soothſayers* among the *Romans*) *it is very certain, that neither imprecations*, or *auſpicies* (or preſages) *did belong unto them*, (to hurt them) *who when they had any work in hand, did profeſs and declare they did take no notice of either*: *Quo munere divinæ indulgentiæ, maius nullum eſt*, ſaith he; that is, *Than Which, the Divine mercy hath not vouchſafed unto men a greater gift*, or *boon*. So *Pliny, lib.* 28. *cap.* 2. And in the next Chapter he doth mention ſome particular rites and ceremonies, which they uſed, to elude, or avert miſchiefs, when threatned by ſome ill *preſage*, or inauſpicious accident. Of which St. *Auguſtin* doth treat, and reckon many, in his ſecond *de Doct. Chriſtiana*, Chap. 20. I

make

make no great wonder, if many of those superstitious rites and ceremonies by both *Pliny* and St. *Augustin* mentioned, were thought efficacious to elude, or avert; when the observation of *prodigies* was so transcendent, that every thing almost, that did not happen every day, was looked upon as a *prodigie*. It was not hard to avert, or elude (as they interpreted it) what probably, as founded upon such groundless fears, and imaginations, would never have hapned: though probable too, that meer fear and imagination, though no better grounded, might be the cause sometimes, that some things hapned really, which otherwise had never been. But however, because *Pliny*, no very superstitious man, who elsewhere hath not faith enough to believe, that God cares for the world, or takes any notice of mens actions, whether good or bad: because he doth here, we see, so magnifie the power of faith, and therein the goodness of God, that would so provide it, and appoint it: and that, besides *Pliny*, there be others, that attest the same, or much to the same purpose; as afterwards in due place may be shewed: we may consider, besides Christian *faith*, whether there be not some kind of natural *faith*, such as *natural*, meer *natural* men are, and always have been capable of; which with God, by his own order, and appointment, is, and always hath been more or less meritorious, or efficacious for the averting of some temporal evils; and a good pledge, or forerunner of that true faith (in Christ) by which we hope, not only to be rescued from that misery, which, as the wretched posterity of a sinful *protoplast*, we are born unto; but also (I expect no otherwise, but that the *wits* will laugh at our simplicity) purchase Heaven it self, and Immortality. But of this, more elsewhere, which I will not here transcribe.

WITH this of *Pliny* the elder, doth well agree the resolution of *Pliny* the latter, and as well with

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Christianity; and therefore not unworthy our observation. A friend of his, who was to plead a cause, within one or two days after, had a dream, which much troubled him, and threatned, as he did interpret it, some kind of miscarrying. Whereupon he doth address himself to *Pliny*, that he would procure him a further day. *Pliny* first doth propose unto him, what in such a case himself had done, preferring that excellent rule or *maxim* of *Homer*'s: Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης· (That is, in effect; *That a good cause ought to be regarded more than any signs or prodigies whatsoever*) before terrifying dreams and visions, when he was to defend the cause of an innocent friend, against potent enemies: Wherein, notwithstanding his terrifying *presages* or *prodigies*, he prospered. He did so, and hoped his friend might also. But if that would not satisfie him, his next advice is, *Quod dubitas ne feceris*: which he calls *Consultissimi cujusque præceptum*, the precept or advice of all that are wise and prudent; *Not to do that whereof you doubt*: which, I think doth very well agree with that of the Apostle; *And he that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith*: *For whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.* But lastly, I make great difference of *prodigies*, that concern private men only; and those which concern *Princes*, and whole *common Weals*. I do not think these so easie to be avoided, as those.

I HAVE done with *prodigies*: I now proceed to that I have to observe upon the instances, or the chiefest of them, that have been produced, which may be useful, as I conceive, in all, or most other cases of *Credulity* or *Incredulity*. And here, first of all, I propose this rule of *Credulity* or *Incredulity* in general, in St. *Augustin*'s words; *Multa* (St. *Augustin* hath it, *Nonnulla* only; but I think it will bear *multa* very well) *credibilia, sunt falsa; sicut incredibilia multa, sunt vera.* Or in

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Minutius Fœlix his words, more pithily: *In incredibili, verum; & in credibili, mendacium*: that is in English, That many things, which seem incredible, are true: and many things false, which are very credible, or likely true. Which is no more, if so much, than what *Aristotle* long before in that known Axiom of his taught; that, *falsa quædam*, &c. *that some things that are false, have more appearance of truth, than some things that are true.* It is no argument to me, that a thing is true, because it is possible; no, nor because probable: nay, it is certain, that many lyes and falshoods are founded upon this very thing, *probability*. Though civility may oblige, not to contradict, where we see no impossibility; yet discretion will, to doubt, and to suspend assent, till we see good ground of *belief*. I know the wisest man may mistake sometimes; many are credulous; and many love to tell what themselves have forged, or what they have from others, though themselves perchance do not believe it. I am no *Sceptick* or *Pyrrhonick*; and whether ever any such were, really, is a question: which to be, in my apprehension, is little less, than of a rational creature born, to turn into a *senseless* brute. And it doth much derogate from Gods goodness, to think that he should give us *reason*, the best of gifts, for no other use, than always to doubt; which is worse, than to have no *reason* at all. Yet this I must say, which I think most true: their profession was, if ever any such, to doubt *of all things*: the best way, never to be a *Sceptick*, is, not to be too quick of belief, and to doubt *of many things*. Take it from St. *Augustin*, that it may have more authority, best in his own words, but because very worthy to be known unto all, that would be wise, I will put them into English. They are out of his book *De Magistro*, which in a *Socratical* way, that is by way of *Dialogues*, doth comprehend divers curious specula-

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tions concerning the end, or uſe of ſpeech. St. *Auguſtin*, one of the two ſpeakers, taking upon him to be the *Magiſter*; and *Adeodatus* the other ſpeaker, made to be the *diſciple*. This *Adeodatus*, after much arguing to and fro, having often been compelled by force of argument, to confeſs that *true*, which he thought *falſe*; and on the contrary, that *falſe*, which he thought otherwiſe of before; being grown, at the laſt, more cautious, what he denied, or aſſented unto; he is commended for it by St. *Auguſtin*, in theſe words: *I am well pleaſed with your doubting, as it is a ſign to me of a mind* (or *diſpoſition*) *not inclinable to raſhneſs, than which* [ſuch a diſpoſition] *nothing doth more conduce to ſetledneſs or tranquillity of mind. For how can we avoid trouble of mind, when thoſe things which through too great facility of aſſent,* (or *Credulity*) *we had yielded as true, by oppoſite arguments begin to totter, and at laſt are extorted from us againſt our wills? So that, as it is but reaſonable to yield aſſent unto thoſe things which we have throughly conſidered, and perfectly underſtand: ſo to embrace that we know not, as though we knew it, and underſtood it, is no leſs dangerous. For the danger is, that when we have been often beaten off from thoſe things which we conceived once moſt firm and ſolid; we fall at laſt into ſuch a hatred, or jealous ſuſpition of reaſon, that we ſhall not think fit or ſafe, to yield aſſent unto any truth, though never ſo perſpicuous and apparent.* So St. *Auguſtin* there. Though he ſpeak properly of *belief* and *unbelief* in matters of opinions, determinable by *reaſon* only; and we of *belief* and *unbelief* in matters of fact, only, determinable, not by *reaſon*, but by *experience*: yet his words are very applicable to our purpoſe; one great ground of *Incredulity*, and that which doth moſt juſtifie it to the world, is, *groundleſs Credulity*.

BUT on the other ſide, to go on where we began, with St. *Auguſtin*'s rule; beſides what is againſt the *faith*,

or

or doth imply manifest *contradiction*; to me, I confess, nothing is *incredible*. I see so many things with mine eyes; and many more I read of, in them that have collected, and set out Nature's Wonders, in several kinds; all *miraculous* to me, because though I see the thing plainly and undeniably, yet I comprehend not the reason; and those that have attempted to find it, I speak it of many *natural* things, as the Load-stone, and the like, are either ridiculously come off, as *Pomponatius*, and the like; or have still left the matter in great obscurity, and their *reasons* liable to many objections: and again, I see or believe upon good attestation, so many strange effects of the power (with God's permission) of *Devils* and *Spirits*; so many (to sight, and for any reason that we can give) *miraculous operations*; that I know not what it is, besides what I have before mentioned, without good and mature consideration, that I can think *incredible*, or *impossible*. Yet I know that the *Devils* power, allow him to the utmost of what can rationally be allowed to a created *Spirit*, is limited, and that he cannot do many things. What those things are that he cannot, is disputed, and argued by many, to whom I willingly subscribe. But he can so imitate and counterfeit, that we shall find it a very hard task, to distinguish between the *reality* of that which he cannot, and the *resemblance*, which he doth offer unto our eyes. He cannot create *substances*: he cannot create men, or women, nor the least *creature*, I believe, that hath its Beeing by *generation*: but he may cast before our eyes such shapes of those things, which he cannot create; or so work upon our phancy, that it shall create them unto us so *vigorously*, so *seemingly*, that he may attain his ends by those counterfeits, as effectually, perchance, as if all were in good earnest,

earnest, what it appears to our deluded eyes. So that the most satisfactory limitation I can find or think of, of his power, is, that he can do no more, than what God doth permit, who hath reserved to himself the Soveraignty of the worlds government, and will not suffer them that trust to him, and depend of him, in the least degree, to suffer by him more, than what may be for his own glory, and their further good, if they patiently submit, and their faith and confidence hold to the last. Where n I am so confident, and so much confirmed, even by those strange effects of the Devils power, which I have read and believe, that it never yet entred into my heart to fear any thing of him more, than his *temptations*, against which Christ hath taught me daily to pray. But of this more, by and by. Upon these grounds, *Miranda naturæ, Nature's wonders* first, for which no satisfactory reason can be found; collected, as many, or most, hitherto known by divers; but, if diligently sought, daily to be multiplied: and secondly, the power of the *Devil*, which though not so great now, as it was before Christ, yet great enough still, to cause admiration; I know not well, I say, what to account *incredible*. Could one man, trusting to the strength of his wit, and the efficacy of his art, not without some ground (as some learned professors of the art have taken upon them to maintain, which I meddle not with) speak so proudly, Δός πȣ̃ ςῶ, κ̀ κινήσω τὴν γῆν: *find me but a place where I may stand conveniently*, (at a convenient distance from the earth it self, I suppose his meaning was) *and I will move the whole earth*: and could the same man do things in the sight of many, which were then generally thought *impossible*, and now to many more *incredible*? and how shall we limit the power of *Spirits*, in knowledge and experience so far exceeding that of mens, when God doth permit? Yet for all this, I do not deny, but it is limited,

limitted, as I said before, because it is both against faith, and against reason to believe, that God will permit them to do many things, though not so easie, precisely to determine, what those things are; and much harder to discern what is real, and what is counterfeit, among the works of so skilful juglers. Not easily to *believe* then, what otherwise is acknowledged very *possible*; nor yet absolutely to reject as *incredible*, what to ordinary sense, and reason may seem impossible, but to consider how attested, and not to dispute against clear evidence; that's our first *rule*, or *observation*.

OUR second shall be; In the relation of strange things, whether *natural* or *supernatural*, to know the temper of the *relator*, if it can be known: and what interest he had, or might probably be supposed to have had, in the relation, to have it believed. Again, whether he profess to have seen it himself, or take it upon the credit of others: and whether a man by his professi-on, in a capacity probable, to judge of the truth of those things, to which he doth bear witness. Every one of these particulars would require a particular *consideration*, but that I would not be too long, or tedious. To make application of this to those witnesses, or the chiefest, I have produced and made use of: I can give no account of their temper by their life, or actions, they were not, nor could be known unto me, that way. But he was not altogether out, who said, *Loquere ut te videam*: though subject to many exceptions, I know; yet ordinarily, a man may give some guess at a mans temper in point of seriousness, or lightness, by his writings. *Cardan* was a learned man, and one that was well acquainted with the world; of great experience, I make no question. But he was a man *ventosi ingenii*, *self-conceited* beyond measure, and as covetous of popular applause: never spake man more truly, than he that first past that censure

censure on him. Any man of ordinary judgment may quickly perceive it by his writings. A man, that did affect to tell strange things, that cause wonder, that he might be wondred at, and admired by them, that did believe him. And indeed he doth tell more strange things of himself, and his father, and some other relations of his, than a man shall likely meet with any where else. But he was not only *ventosus*, as censured by others, but also *mendacissimus*, a notable lyar, as acknowledged, and proved by his great friend *Nodæus*; and by his confession of himself, according to his *horoscope*, *Nugax*, *religionis contemptor*, *maledicus*, *impurus*, *calumniator*, &c. all which the same *Nodæus* doth acknowledge most true of him.

SOME man may wonder, (this by the way) what made *Nodæus*, who otherwise doth most ridiculously exalt him, to acknowledge so much truth: but there was a reason. *Cardanus* and *Nodæus* were not of one Religion, in point of *Spirits*; of whom, though *Cardanus* tells many strange stories, which I believe (from such a convicted lyar) are false; yet among so many, it is possible some might be true. But whether false or true, *Nodæus*, as all, or most that are of that perswasion, admirers of *Epicurus*, *&c.* could not indure to hear of them. In that particular, he doth cast dirt upon him, and makes him the vilest man, that ever was: In others, if you will believe him, *Cardanus* was an incomparable man. This in another age, might have been thought a contradiction; and *Nodæus* himself censured for a man of no judgment at all, if not worse. But he knew what times he wrote in, and how men stood affected. Neither did his judgment herein deceive him; which in a more sober age, if God will be so merciful, may cause no small wonder. Well, *Cardan*, for one, was a learned man, of great experience: but I say, by *Nodæus* his

leave,

leave, this *mendacissimus* doth spoil all. I think they that trust him, deserve to be deceived; and I doubt many stand not upon that so much, so they may be thought some body, because they read *Cardan*.

I KNOW not any *I* have made use of, but, so far as may be guessed by their writings, were sober and serious men: and so accounted by those (known unto me) who mention them in their writings. They were all, or most of them, learned Physicians, and therefore best able to judge of those things, which they wrote of, and attested. How it should advantage either the credit of their Art and profession, (which to preserve, made *Galen* so unwilling a long time, as before observed, before he would acknowledge the efficacy of *charms* and *incantations*) or their particular profit, in their practice, to acknowledge, and of their own accord publish and proclaim the efficacy of *supernatural means* for *cures*, *&c.* (such as we have made choice of too for instances) no man, *I* think can imagine: how it might impair it, is very apparent. The best reward of their ingenuity from the greater number, or those *sapientissimi*, in *Seneca*, they could expect, is, to be accounted either *lyars* or *idiots*. Lastly, *Remigius* excepted, of whom some question may be made; because he saith, *vidi hominem*, *he saw the man*; he doth not say, he saw the *thing*: (which yet may be true enough, for any thing he saith) all the rest expresly profess, to have seen with *their eyes*, what they relate. *Vair* indeed doth not mention *his eyes*, but he hath those *circumstances*, which he doth attest, which, as *I* say there, amount to a *vidimus*, or, *ocular attestation.*

BUT then, thirdly, *Seneca* saith, *oculis nihil fallacius*: and doth give some instances. His instances are

true, yet I cannot allow of his inference. We must trust to our eyes, in most things; to our ears, and other senses, else we shall not know what to trust to. However, it is very true in some cases, our eyes, our ears, and other senses may deceive us; and that relation may be suspected, which is grounded upon two eyes, or ears only; though the witness be granted an honest discerning man. I could mention many things that have hapned unto my self in that kind: but one thing, that hath made most impression, I shall make bold to relate. It is not many years; but it was some time before our *happy restoration*: My Son (the only I have or then had) and I had rid some twenty or thirty miles that day, and came to the house of a worthy Gentlewoman, of some relation, by marriage; where I had been often kindly entertained. In the night, about midnight I then guessed, my said Son, and I lying together, and both fast asleep; I was suddenly awakened by the report of a Gun or Pistolet, as I then thought, discharged under the bed. It shook the bed, I am sure. Being somewhat terrified, I awakened my bed-fellow; asked him, whether he had heard nothing; told him what I had heard, and felt. He was scarce awake, when a second blow was heard, and the bed, as before: which did put him in such a fright, that I forgat mine own, and wholly applied my self to put him out of it, and to keep him in his right wits. Thus busie, it was not long before a third blow, and still the bed as before. I would have risen, but that he did so closely embrace me, that I durst not leave him, neither was he willing to let me go. It was an hour at least after that third and last blow, before I could get him to sleep; and before day, I also fell asleep. In the morning, being up before me, I bid him look under the bed, which he did, but not so carefully, as one possest with other apprehensions about the cause,

as

as he might have done. I charged him not to ſpeak to any, until my ſelf had firſt acquainted the Miſtreſs of the houſe, whom I knew, an underſtanding diſcreet Gentlewoman. It was about dinner-time before ſhe came down to the Parlour, and then as ſoberly as I could, none being preſent, but two of her daughters, vertuous Gentlewomen; I firſt prepared her, not much to wonder, or to be troubled. So I acquainted her. I perceived by her countenance, it did trouble her, and as we were diſcourſing, ſhe looking upon me, as expecting ſomewhat from me, that might prevent further jealouſie or ſuſpition; I hapned to tell her, that I had ſome thought in the morning, that it might be the cords of the bed: She preſently, and with a joyful countenance, ſaid, It is ſo certainly; for the bed was lately corded with new cords, which were ſo ſtretched, that the man told us, he was afraid they would break, if not then, yet ſoon after, when the bed ſhould be uſed. She had no ſooner ſaid it, but ſends one of her daughters up to look, and it was ſo indeed: the cords were broken in three ſeveral places. What others, to whom the like, or ſomewhat like had hapned before, or otherwiſe better experienced in ſuch things, might have thought of it, I know not: I have no thought to make a wonder of it, now I know the cauſe: But I ſuppoſe it might have hapned to ſome other, as it did to me, till I knew the cauſe, to be terrified; and ſo terrified, that had I gone away before I had been ſatisfied, I ſhould not have been conſcious to my ſelf of a lye, if I had reported, that the houſe was haunted. I could never have believed, that ſuch cords could have made ſuch a loud noiſe; beſides the ſhaking of the bed, which added much to my wondring, until I knew the certainty. I could not have believed, I ſay; though I have conſidered ſince, that even a ſmall thread, haſtily broken, maketh no ſmall noiſe;

and besides, that a Pistolet could not be discharged, but there would have been a smoak, and smell. But whatever some might have thought, it is enough that it might have hapned unto some others, as to me, to prove that our senses may deceive us sometimes, and that it is not always enough to say, I have seen it; or I have heard it. But when a thing doth happen in the clear light of the Sun, and in clear sight (for at a distance many eyes may be deceived; and a *panick fear*, in the time of war, may make a whole camp upon some very slight mistake or suspition run away: but that is another case) but clear light, and clear sight, of many sober, and not pre-occupied with any passion, if then many eyes be deceived; it is very likely, and so I grant, it doth often happen; it is by the art and intervention of the *Devil*, that they are so. Now in those relations I have made use of, some things were done very publickly, before many; not any, but had more witnesses than one or two, and therefore more likely to be true.

FOURTHLY, At *the mouth of two or three Witnesses shall every word or matter be established*: we know who saith it; and, if there be no just exception against the witnesses, is most agreeable to the practice of men, in all places. I have cleared my witnesses from all exceptions; and they are more than one or two that witnesse the same thing, though not the same thing numerically, yet the same thing in effect; to wit, the truth of *supernatural operations*, by *Devils* and *Spirits*; which they, who upon such proofs and attestations will not believe, may justly be charged with *obstinate*, and if we consider the ill consequence of such unbelief, *pernitious incredulity*.

LASTLY, somewhat hath been said of it before, but it cannot be too often repeated: Let no man that doth aspire to the knowledge of *truth*, discredit the truth or

or reality of any business that is controverted, because the thing is liable to abuse and imposture. It is a very popular way indeed, and with vulgar judgments, of great force: but it is the way to deny all *truth*, and to overthrow all government, and whatsoever is most holy among men. For what is it, if well look'd into, that is not liable to abuse, and imposture? To insist upon somewhat that is obvious, and what every man may judge of: No wise man doth doubt, but that there is such an art, as *Physick* or *Medicine*; acknowledged in the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament: magnified in the Civil Law: besides the testimonies of private men, of all professions, every where obvious. And for my part, though all the world should be of another belief, yet I should think my self, who more than once (with Gods blessing) have been saved by it, bound with gratitude to acknowledge the efficacy and excellency of it. Yet if a man were disposed to argue against it, as needless, or pernitious, how easily might he find arguments? As first, because divers Nations have done without Physicians, as well as with them: the *Romans*, for a long time; the *Babylonians*, whose custom was, as witnessed by *Herodotus*, to keep records of diseases and cures; and to expose their sick to the view of all men: not to insist in other Nations, which have been specified by others. And then, the Sects and Factions of Physicians, that have been at all times: their different judgments of the causes of diseases; and different courses in curing; not only different, but even contrary: as every man knows, that hath but looked into their books. And then, if we consider the number of *Empericks*, bold illiterate, ungrounded men, that go under that name; and the *credulity*, or covetousness of many, who to save somewhat, will trust

themſelves into any hands, rather than be at the charge to ſend for, or go to an allowed, and well-grounded Phyſician; it is a great queſtion, (or perchance, no queſtion, but many more, certainly) whether more are not kill'd by ſuch uſurpers, and counterfeits, than are ſaved (under God) by true learned Phyſicians, where they moſt abound. But all this may eaſily be anſwered, and Phyſick vindicated; but with this acknowledgment, that the beſt things that are, may be abuſed: and ſo thoſe things, that in their nature have the truth and reality of exiſtence as certainly, as thoſe that are ſeen and diſcerned by the eye, may be counterfeited and falſified, and are liable to the miſtakes of men that are ignorant, and the illuſion of juglers and *impoſtors*.

FOR a further *direction to them that* may want it, in this matter of witneſſes to make faith to ſtrange relations; I *will take notice of ſome objections that* are *made, or may be made*. As firſt, what can be more creditable, than what doth ſtand upon publick records? may ſome body ſay. So did all thoſe *prodigies Livy* doth relate. Muſt we then think our ſelves in reaſon bound to believe them, all, or one half of them? No: it is a miſtake. That which ſtood upon record, was, that ſuch and ſuch (if more, than one: of many *prodigies*, but one) did inform that ſuch and ſuch a thing had hapned; who delivered it upon their honeſt word, (not *oath*, that I can find; except it were upon ſome extraordinary occaſion) that it was true. This was the ſuperſtition of the *Romans*, of thoſe victorious times, that they thought nothing, that did relate to the ſervice of their Gods, muſt be neglected: and ſo a record of it was made, *nunciatum eſſe*, that it was *reported*, not *verum eſſe*, that it was *true*. Yet we find in the ſame *Livy*, that oftentimes, upon juſt ſuſpition; that which was related, did paſs ſome kind of examination; and if found defective, not

not allowed. But what shall we say to *Plutarch's* relation, who not upon his own credit only, and yet he acknowledged a grave, and serious Author; but upon the credit of many then living, in his *Treatise* of the *Soul*; not now extant; but so much of it is preserved in *Eusebius*; doth seriously relate, of one very well known unto him, and his familiar friend, as I take it; who died, he said, and his Soul after three hours, remanded to his body, because it was upon a mistake of the messenger, that he was deprived of life by such a sickness, when another man was intended and sent for. After which restauration to life, he lived many years, and was then alive, *Plutarch* saith, when he wrote this of him. This relation, I must confess, did somewhat trouble me, when I first read in *Eusebius*; and the rather, because *Eusebius* doth barely relate it, and excepts against nothing, which some might interpret as an assent, but is not; there was no need, if what he aimed at, be considered. But however so barely related, did trouble me for a time. But afterwards, upon better consideration, I thought and still think that both *Plutarch* and his friend, might be very honest men, and speak no more than what they believed to be very true; and yet we not bound at all to believe them. For first of all, this departing of his soul was in a καταφορᾷ, *Plutarch* saith; that is a kind of *unnatural deep sleep*, which by them that are not much acquainted with the proper terms of Physick, and differences of every disease, might easily be mistaken for an ἔκστασις: which Physicians define, *Soporem gravem, quo qui tenentur*, &c. that is, *A kind of sleep, which they that labour of, sleep profoundly, and dream; and afterwards, when awakened, what they did dream, they think to be true, and relate it unto others for very truth.* Or, as *Sennertus* elsewhere; *They lie as though they were dead, and frequently, after they are awakened,*

kened, make report what strange things they have heard and seen.

NO wonder then, if the man in such a distemper, saw strange visions; and it is probable, he had read of some such thing, that had hapned, or commonly reported to have hapned unto some others; whereof the learned *Annotator*, in the last *Paris* Edition will give a further account to them that desire it. But this granted; it follows in *Plutarch*, that the other, who by right should have died, (for there was a mistake of men, or souls, as was said before) upon the return of *Antillus* his soul, (that was his name) when he heard what had hapned to *Antillus*, and what report he had made of his visions; that is, that his soul should be returned indeed; but the others, *first intended*, would be sent for; he fell sick, and died in very deed. Truly I think according to the belief of the vulgar of those days, it were a wonder, a great wonder, if he had not. For he was not only told, what this revived (as was thought) *Antillus* had reported of him, as revealed unto him in that other world; but people (so goes the story) were daily and hourly at his door, to see the event, which was enough to startle any man, that had not a very great courage, and knew nothing to the contrary, but that what was reported of *Antillus* his death, his miraculous reviving, and what *Antillus* himself had since reported, as revealed unto him, where he had been, was very true; enough I say, to startle him into an alienation of mind, or a sudden death: whereof there be many examples of men, who surprized with a sudden great fear, though without any other hurt, or danger, have fallen into some sicknes, which hath ended in death. He therefore, who upon this, or like relation of *Plutarch*, should censure him for a *fabulous* writer, would do him wrong, and bewray either malignity or igno-

ignorance. Yet many *fables* we may find in *Plutarch*, which being delivered by him, not credited, nor to that end they ſhould be credited, but according to the *Mythologie* of thoſe times, which was no ſmall part of their learning, and is yet to all men, for the underſtanding of ancient books, without which no true learning can be purchaſed; for ſuch fables, and the like, delivered upon certain ſuppoſitions; it were very ridiculous, and injurious alſo, to account him fabulous.

BUT *becauſe* this is a profitable point, to prevent raſh judgment, which commonly proceeds from ignorance, or want of judgment, or ingenuity, the worſt of the three; among them that have lately written of *Dæmons* and *Spirits*, and their inſtruments, men and women, *Witches* and *Sorcerers*: *Bodinus* and *Remigius* are moſt known, I think, and read. Learned men both; and who I think, had no intention at all to impoſe upon their Readers, but wrote as themſelves believed. Yet for all this, I do not think my ſelf bound to believe every thing that they believed, and thought truth: neither could I, for the reaſons before alledged, ground upon any of their ſtories, but as the authorities, and circumſtances of the ſtory, well pondered, ſhall induce me. Though learned, yet men; and as men, liable to errors and miſtakes; and in ſome things, perhance, more credulous, than I ſhould be. What either of them might think of the efficacy of *Waſhing of the hands*; of *Salt*; and of a *Vine-ſtick*; of the *crowing of the Cock*, and the like; I make no queſtion, but they had ſome plauſible grounds, & the confeſſions of divers *Witches* (firſt deluded by the *Devil*, that they might delude others, and by degrees, draw them to other more ſuperſtitious obſervations) for it; beſides what is objected to *Bodinus* particularly, by the cenſors of his book, if true. Many men when they have got ſome ſuch thing by the end, that may accidentally prove falſe, or it may be juſtly famed as ſuperſtitious; they think they have enough to diſcredit a

man,

man, and to blast his labours, though otherwise never so worthy, or profitable; which, as I said before, is an argument of great either weakness, or malice. I know it is the manner of many, *incredulous* men especially; when they are pressed with any authority, and cannot otherwise evade. A very learned man, in his books, *De Origine Idololat.* (or rather, *De Theologia Gentili,* &c. a far more proper Title, except he had followed it otherwise: which gave me encouragement to write of the same subject, *De orig. Idololat.* long ago, though never yet printed) doth pass a harsh judgment against *Bodinus*, as for some other things; so particularly, for his severity, or rather, as he makes it, rash and injurious partiality, in admitting all kind of witnesses against suspected Witches: and to draw out compassion more forcibly, he stiles them *imbecillem sexum.* I will not take upon me to excuse *Bodin* in all things. Yet had he as well considered the atrocity of the crime, than which none can be either more injurious to the Divine Majesty, or more pernicious to the community of men; he might as well have censured his severity in this case, an excess of zeal for God and men; as he doth censure it, and aggravate it, want of equity and mercy. And sure I am, that a very learned man too, and of great fame in the world; out of meer indignation, and zeal to God, seeing *Witches* and *Sorcerers* so indulgently dealt in *France*, (where *Bodinus* lived) did write, as himself professeth, that learned Treatise, *De Idololatria Magica,* which is extant.

BUT in very deed no man can deny, but in this case of *Witches*, and persons *bewitched*, great judgment and circumspection, and all little enough, ought to be used. I remember when I lived in *Sommersetshire*, very young then; I heard, at my first coming into those parts, of one that was much pitied, (a Gardiner by his professi-on,

on, and a very honest man every body said) as strangely bewitched: who also, as I was told, had appeared before the Judges, at the *Assizes*, more than once, in some of his fits. It was said, as I remember, that one or two, if not more, had been condemned, and suffered about it. I was also told of divers of the Clergy, who being desired, had been with him, to comfort him. Yet at last, some years after, this very man proved to be the *Witch*, (a Witch or Sorcerer himself) and was at *Bridgwater* Goal, I being then in the Country: where he carried himself, by common report, as a desperate Atheist, and seemed to slight the proceedings of Justice against him, being confident he should escape. The very night before execution, (intended) though kept with great care, and well fettered, I believe; yet being left alone some part of the night, or his Keeper sleeping, he got away by *casting* of himself down through a high hole, or window in the wall; and it was said (my habitation was not very far from the place) that a great heap, or pile of Fagots, which lay far enough in the yard from the place, were removed, and placed under the wall, for his escape. But the man being diligently pursued, after a day or two, was found in a Barn; and for all his confidence (upon the *Devils* promise, I suppose) that he should *escape*, was speedily executed. Thus the *Devil* deals with his vassals. He doth keep his word to them, (worse than the *Devil* they then, who promise, and take no care to perform) and yet they are not much the better for it, but in this, the utmost of miseries, that their confidence doth hinder their repentance: It is bad to have to do with him. I have given a true account of the business, if neither my memory, nor my information have deceived me. I wish we had yearly, an account of all memorable things, that happen in this kind, in all parts of *England*. I doubt not, if performed

by

by such as are creditable, and judicious; but good use might be made of it.

BUT again, when strange things are pretended, and creditable witnesses produced; yet it is the part of an intelligent reader, or auditor, before he gives full assent, to consider the nature of the thing, and all the circumstances of it. For some things are of that nature, though never so well attested, a man would think, that are yet possible to be mistaken; either because they cannot be so throughly examined and searched, as some other things: or because, not accompanied with convincing circumstances, that make it clear unto all men, not set upon contradiction, that there is somewhat *supernatural*, or besides the course of ordinary nature, in the case. I will instance in a notable example. In the year of our Lord, 1593. a rumor was spread, far and near, concerning a *Silesian* boy, about seven years of age, who had, they said, *a golden tooth* growing in his mouth. It was two years after, time enough a man would think to find out the truth, before the story was published in Print; and then too, by no mean man, but by *Jacobus Horstius*, a learned Physician. Soon after (I follow the account *Sennertus* gives of it) he was seconded by one *Martinus Rulandus*, a Physician too, of good account. These, it seems, made no question of the truth. But two years after that, one *Ingolsterus* opposed him; *Rulandus* I mean; and the same year, *Rulandus* replied in his own defence. The substance of their reasoning to and fro, is to be found in *Libavius* his *Singularia*, (one of the first books that stirred me up to apply my *self*, when very young, to the study of *nature*, so far as at spare hours I might compass) *Tome II.* with his own conjectures all along, rational, and well worth the

the reading. It is incredible what ſtrange apprehenſions ſome men had, concerning this prodigious *tooth*; extending their *prognoſticks* of it, as far as the *Turkiſh* Empire, and his war with the Chriſtians. But in the end, it proved but a cheat. How diſcovered, is nothing to my purpoſe. But I would have the Reader to conſider, though I cannot excuſe the *credulity* of men in it, which may be a warning to others, not to believe every thing, that is believed, and well atteſted, till they have well pondered all circumſtances; yet to conſider, I ſay, that it was very poſſible for men to be miſtaken, where they could not have ſuch full inſpection; except the tooth had been out, as is eaſie in many other, whether pretended, or real wonders. Beſides, there was no convincing circumſtance, but ſuch rather, as might induce a man, to ſuſpect a fraud. For the Parents were poor, and reaped great profit, by ſhewing this tooth, in this way of ſhewing it, ſuch as it was. But if a man of good credit and judgment, ſhould tell me he hath ſeen a maid in the preſence of divers others, *ſow* and *write* (exquiſitely both) with her tongue; which I think a greater wonder, than to do it with the *feet*, as of more than one I have read: or ſeen a man, whoſe arms were ſo cut off, that nothing but ſhort ſtumps were left, handle (pardon the word: if I ſhould ſay, *manage*, I know no great difference) a ſword, charge and diſcharge a muſquet, and the like; though the matter ſeems to me very ſtrange, and almoſt *incredible*; yet I cannot ſuſpect any fraud or miſtake, if my Author be true, and ſober; as I am ſure I have good authors for both, which no judicious man can *rationally* ſuſpect, or queſtion; *Nicolaus Tulpius*, of *Amſterdam*, for the maid; and *Ambroſe Pareus*, for the man; who alſo relates, that the ſaid man made a trade to rob and kill upon the ways, and for it was condemned to death.

BUT

BUT to return to our miraculous *Tooth*: Though the cheat was then discovered, and the discovery published by more than one; yet the noise of the miracle had spread so far before that; and in the minds of many had made such deep impression, that the credit of it continued long after; and for ought I know, doth yet, among some, to this day. Sure I am, that a Jesuit, who not many years ago, with no small diligence, and yet much brevity, hath given us an account of three parts of the world, (I have seen no more) doth mention it, as a thing very real. Except he should intend it of another boy; because it is in the description of *Hungary*, that he hath it; whereas ours was in *Silesia*. But I rather think it is his mistake, or the mistake of some, whom he hath followed. If so, then we must say, that the miracle by time, hath well improved: For he doth not only tell of a boy with a *golden tooth*, but also *of nine tendrels, and natural leaves, of pure gold*: which might (upon good attestation of eye-witnesses) be thought the more probable, if, as some are of opinion, gold grew in Mines, altogether as a tree; and gold mines be nothing, but sundry trees of gold. His words are; *Schemnitium —— civitas alia, ubi dives fodina aurea, quin etiam ex vitibus claviculi, & folia ex puro auro aliquando enata; pueroque succrevit dens aureus.* I could have named a man of these times, (an English writer) also, who doth mention it as a true story. But for his love to ancient learning, and the pains he hath taken to vindicate it against the attempts of some others; I will reserve his name to some better occasion.

BUT in all those stories, either of *supernatural cures*, or *incantation of Serpents*, I have told; things were acted publickly, or in the sight of many; or accompanied with such circumstances, as make the case indubitable, and out of all possibility of a mistake. Except a man will

say,

say, that some of those things, were indeed represented to the eyes, whether of more, or fewer, so that they did verily believe they saw such and such things; which yet were not so, truly and really, as apprehended. This indeed doth happen sometimes, but never (*in clear light*, &c. as before limited) but by diabolical art, and illusion: so that as to the proving of *supernatural* operations, it comes to one. Yet this I will say: if in the *incantations* of Serpents, one or two only, of that kind, had been charmed at *once*; I might have suspected, that by art, and *industry*, they might have been taught that obedience, if not to run into the fire, yet to suffer themselves to be handled, and the like; because I know of dogs, and Horses, and Elephants, (besides what I have seen my self) and even of *Serpents*, what hath been written by some, both ancient and late.

TO instance yet in another particular of *ungrounded* I cannot say; for I think the most cautelous, might have been deceived; but deluded *credulity*, whereof I think I can give a better account, than yet hath been given, for ought I know, by any in Print, though more than one, I know have taken notice of the *cheat*; so I call it, though the authors of it aimed at somewhat better, they will say, or some for them, perchance. In the year of the Lord 1550. *Henry* the second, King of *France*, being then *Bononiæ*; that is, (for there be three Towns, if not more, one in *Italy*, another in *Germany*, and a third in *France*, of that name) *Bologne*, in *France*; which having been taken a year or two before, by the *English*, was then restored; a Letter was written by one *Pinellus*, a *French* Physician, who was then, it seems, at Court with the King, to a friend of his, of the same profession, one *Mizaldus*. I have not met with the whole Letter any where, which therefore I here exhibit.

Job.

Joh. Pipinus, Anto. Mizaldo, suo S. P. D.

GAUDEO mihi oblatam esse occasionem, charissime Antoni, qua rem novam, & plane admirabilem, tibi nunciare sit datam. Nuper ex India Orientali Regi nostro allatum hic vidimus lapidem, lumine & fulgore mirabiliter corruscantem, quique totus veluti ardens & incensus incredibili lucis splendore præfulget micatque. Is jactis quoque versus radiis, ambientem circumquaque aerem luce nullis fere oculis tolerabili, latissime complet. Est etiam terræ impatientissimus: si cooperire coneris, sua sponte & vi, facto impetu, confestim evolat in sublime. Contineri vero includive loco ullo angusto, nulla potest hominum arte: sed ampla liberaque loca duntaxat amare videtur. Summa in eo puritas, summus nitor: nulla sorde, aut labe coinquinatur. Figuræ species nulla ei certa; sed inconstans & momento commutabilis: cumque sit aspectu longe pulcherrimus, contractari sese tamen non sinit; & si diutius adnitaris, vel obstinatius agas, incommodum adfert: sicuti multi suo non levi malo, me præsente, sunt experti: quod siquid ex eo fortassis enixius conando adimitur aut detrahitur, nam durus admodum non est; fit (dicta mirum) nihilo minor. Addit insuper, is hospes, qui illum attulit, homo uti apparet, Barbarus; hujus virtutem ac vim esse ad quam plurime cùm utilem, tum præcipue, Regibus imprimis, necessariam: sed quam revelaturus non sit, nisi pretio ingenti prius accepto. Reliqua ex me præsente audies cùm primùm Rex ad vos redierit. Superest at te, & si quos isthic habes viros eruditos diligentissimè orem, ex Plinio, Alberto, Morbodeo, aliisque, qui de lapidibus aliquid scriptum reliquerunt, solicite disquiratis, quisnam sit hujusmodi lapillus, aut quod illi nomen (si modo fuerit, antiquis cognitus) præscribi vere possit. Nam in eo peranxiè, nec minus infeliciter ab aulicis nostris eruditis, hactenus laboratum, quibus si palmam

palmam in ea cognitione præripere possem, mecum felicissime actum iri existimarem. Incredibilis enim, & Regi imprimis, & toti denique procerum aulicorum turbæ ea de re commota est expectatio. Vale.

Bononiæ, Pridie Ascensionis Christi, M.D.L.

I HAVE set down the whole Epistle, as it was written, because, as before said, I have not met with it whole elsewhere; and pity it were, that what so many years, to so many, hath been the ground of so much trouble and inquiry, should not be fully known. And now for their sakes that understand not the *Latin*, I will set it down in *English* too.

Joh. Pipinus, *to* Ant. Mizaldus, *his loving friend, health, and greeting.*

I AM *glad, dearest* Anthony, *that this opportunity hath offered it self of a new, and wonderful relation. We have lately seen a stone, which was brought to our King, out of the* East-Indies, *shining with admirable light and brightness, as if it were all on fire; such is the splendor and flashing of it, filling the air round about with rays, which no eye can bear. It is very impatient of earth, and if you go about to cover it, it makes its way by force, and flieth up on high. No art of man can conclude it, or contain it in a narrow room; naturally affecting wide and free places. It is of perfect purity and cleanness, and cannot be soiled with any spot or foulness. The shape of it is not certain, but inconstant, and in a moment changeable: and though it be of a beautiful aspect, yet cannot endure to be touched; and if you think to use any force, it is not without some inconvenience, as some, in my presence, have found to their cost. And if with much endeavour, you happen to take any part, or parcel from it,*

(for it is not very hard) it is not (O wonderful) the less for it. To all this, the same man that brought it, a meer Barbarian to sight, doth add, that the vertue of it, as it is useful for many things; so chiefly to Kings, very necessary: but not to be revealed, without a good summe of money first payed. Nothing now remains, but earnestly to entreat you, and other learned men where you are, that you will make diligent search in Pliny, Albertus, Marbodeus, *and others, that have written of stones, what this stone is, and in case it were known to the Ancients, what is the true name of it. For in this is the industry of our Courtiers, who pretend to any learning, now occupied; wherein if I could prevent them, I should think my self very happy. For it is incredible, how much the King himself, and the whole Court, long to be satisfied. Farewel.*

From *Bononia*, Ascension Eur. 1550.

WHERE *Mizaldus* was, when the Letter came to him, I know not certainly: but I guess at *Paris*. Hereupon, the fame of this rare *stone* was spread far and near; and all curious men, Philosophers, and Naturalists, invited to spend their judgments. *Thuanus*, many years after, enters it into his *History*, as a thing worthy of eternal memory: *Dum Rex Bononiæ esset, allatus ad eum ex India Orientali*, &c. concluding thus: *Hæc, ut in literis Johan. Pipini, oculati rei testis*, &c. making no question at all of the truth, but whether such a stone ever known to the Ancients or no, leaving that to the further enquiry of *Philosophers* and *Naturalists*. No such thing is now to be found in *Thuanus*, after the matter was once come out, and he knew it was a cheat. Yet, so long did the fame of this pretious *stone* continue, that in the year 1622. when that admirable Treasury of choice rarities, called *Musæum Veconense*, (which I value

value the more, becauſe of the ſobriety, and piety of the ſetters out of it, as by the diſputation at the end, doth appear) it was yet current in thoſe parts, and great endeavours were uſed, for the procuring of it, if to be purchaſed at any rate. So we find it there, and moreover, how men verſed in thoſe things, differed in their opinions: ſome accounting it a *natural*, other a *magical* ſtone, and the like. Whether *Fernelius* was the firſt, (as Dr. *Harvy* doth inform us) who placed the *Oedipus*, and unfolded the riddle, I know not: I rather ſuſpect, becauſe I find it explained in the copy of the Letter I have, which I take to be ancient, that it came from them, or theirs, that were the firſt contrivers of it. Now truly, had any man but ſuſpected, that it was poſſible, (concerning which we ſhall have a more proper place and full enquiry in our ſecond part) that any learned ingenuous man would be ſo diſingenuous, and ſo idle, as meerly for the pleaſure of the trouble, and puzle of others, to buſie himſelf to contrive a cheat: I think a leſs man than *Oedipus*, might have unfolded the riddle, for any great intricacy of it. I am confident, that nothing but a ſtrong preſumption and confidence, that *Pinellus* was too grave and too ſerious, to take ſuch a perſon upon him, made it a riddle ſo long. It might have been obſerved, that though the Author ſet down the time and place, when, and whether this ſtrange *ſtone* was brought, and alſo make bold with the Kings name, either upon a confidence, thoſe whom he did abuſe, would not ſoon have the opportunity to ask him; or becauſe he had obtained ſo much favour of the King, upon ſome plauſible pretence, that he was content to be named; yet it might have been obſerved, that in ſome other things, he ſpeaks not ſo particularly, as might have been expected. He doth intimate indeed, that many they were, beſides the King, that had ſeen it, and

wondred at it: but names none particularly, as *Josephus* doth, (by their relations and offices, which doth amount to a naming) and *Laurentius*, in their stories: this last especially, very particularly; which takes away all possibility of either fiction or mistake. And if any man think that the very strangeness, or *incredibleness* of the story, was enough to make a wise man suspitious; should we take a survey of those strange things, secrets of nature, time hath discovered, in several ages of the world, somewhat might be found perchance, though since, because better known, not so much regarded, that might deserve as much *admiration*. To pass by, what either *Pliny* upon the report of others, more ancient, or since him, *Albertus Magnus*, the wonder of his age, and many ages after, for natural knowledge, have written of some stones; which though written by such, yet I believe no further, than I see cause; that is, than is approved true, by good experience, which is repugnant, I am sure, to many of their traditions: I will only instance in the effects of *quicksilver*, known and tried, vulgarly enough, but *accurately* collected, and set out by *Acosta*, in his *Natural History of the Indies, lib.* 4. *cap.* 10. and 11. and by *Levinus. Lemnius, De occult. Nat. Mir. lib.* 2. *cap.* 35. we shall find some particulars of this imaginary stone, truly verified of *quicksilver*, and divers others not less admirable, with equal truth attested of it. But let us see: I think with little alteration, as strange a riddle as this, might have been contrived: as thus, *A very resplendent stone*, (or if you will, without any sophistication; *A liquor, that wets not*) *of no certain form, not tractable, without danger: and if you divide it in never so many parts, or parcels; of it self, it will come, or affect to come into an entire body again: and which is most admirable, though it be the heaviest thing in the world, yet with fire, it will vanish into*

smoak,

smoak, the lightest thing in the world: and though vanish, yet not consume; for sooner or later, it will come to a body again, without any loss or diminution. All this, to which more may be added, according to the description of the two forenamed Authors: the word *stone*, which I am sure is more proper of *quicksilver*, as it is a *mineral*, than of *fire* only added. Not to mention *Gabriell Fallopius*, who, of all I have seen, hath written of it, the vertues and properties, most accurately, in his book, *De Metallis & fossilibus, cap.* 11. & 36.

AND who could tell, had the relation been true, but that this stone might have proved a *Magical* stone? Who hath not heard of those *Astrological* (according to the vulgar opinion, and their usual graveure; though the efficacy, by many ascribed to the Stars and Planets; by more, and the more solid, to the *Devil* only) *stones and gems*, called by the *Grecians*, στοιχεῖα, and by the *Arabs*, *Talismata*; the use and superstition whereof though we abhor, yet the operations, attested by so many, how can we *rationally* deny? Let *Gyges* his ring, though not thought so by all that write of it, pass for a fable; yet learned *Camerarius*, I am sure, doth write of a ring of his time, for which he had the attestation of some, whom himself did believe very creditable, much more miraculous, than that of *Gyges*, because this made the wearer only *invisible*; when he would, and gave him light in darkness, at pleasure; but the other represented things future, and a-far off, which of the two I account the greater wonder.

THIS, I thought not amiss, to prevent the insulting of those *sapientissimi*, or *Wondrous wise men*, *Seneca* speaks of, who when they hear, how many both learned and wise, were gulled by this *cheat*; will be ready to applaud themselves, and say,

what fools were they, that they could not see, that it *was a lye*: *an arrant lye*: *an impossible thing*. So that, if learned men, and honest men by common reputation; meerly for the pleasure of deceiving, and puzling, (which hath too much of the humor of the *Devil*, to be believed of real honest men) will conspire to turn *juglers*, I know no fence against it, but absolute *Incredulity*, in such cases: which is a remedy as bad, or worse than the disease; the danger of being cheated. But if, as by *Fernelius* is alledged, the end of the project was, to make men more sensible of their folly, who admire nothing generally, but what is seldom seen; whereas, in very truth, those things, that are ordinary and daily, if looked upon with a Philosophical eye, deserve as much *admiration*; and still ask for new signs from Heaven, when all that is about us, if rightly understood; what we daily handle and see; what we eat, drink and wear; are *clear signs and evidences* of the infinite power and wisdom of the *Creator*; this, indeed, is a useful and pleasant speculation, which many Philosophers and others, have largely insisted upon; and the *fire*, I grant, (as well observed by *Avicen*, whom *Fernelius* doth cite) is a very pregnant example; yet, some other way might have been found, I believe, as by a convenient *parable*, some prety *fable*, or so; which might have wrought upon the vulgar as well, as this crude lye.

I AM at an end of my first part, as to matter of *Credulity* or *Incredulity*, in things *Natural*, taken in that general sense, before spoken of, and this will be our biggest *Part*. Now as a *Corollary* to it, not unbeseeming my profession, I will take the Ninty First *Psalm* of *David*, or some words of it, into consideration, which will afford us some useful considerations, not improper,

or impertinent to the ſubject we have handled. The ſubject of the *Pſalm*, is, the ſecurity of a godly man, who liveth under the protection of *Almighty God*, in times of greateſt dangers. But whether intended by the Author of it, to ſet out the ſecurity of all godly men, in general; and to all that are ſuch, equally appliable: or penned upon ſome particular occaſions, and more particularly appliable to ſome, than to others, may be a queſtion. Some ſuperſtitious *Jews*, from whom it is thought by ſome, that the cuſtom, or invention of ſuch *rings*, did firſt proceed, as the faſhion is of ſuch that deal in unlawful arts, to ſeek protection from the *Scripture*, by violent applications; have made bold to interpret this ſecurity here promiſed to the godly, of thoſe *magical* rings, made under ſuch and ſuch conſtellations, which have been, a little before ſpoken of. So I learn from that great Maſter of all good learning, *Joſephus Scaliger*, in ſome Epiſtles of his, ſet out in his *Poſthuma*. It is a great chance, if a bold *Chymick* will not ſay as much of the myſteries of his art. But wiſhing them ſounder brains, or better conſciences; whether the *Pſalm*, according to the firſt, either occaſion of it, or intention of the Pen-man, be generally appliable or no; we need not be very ſolicitous, ſince the ſubſtance of it, the ſecurity of the Godly, *&c.* is by other places of Scripture, affirmed and aſſerted; though not ſo *emphatically*, yet plainly enough, to make good all herein contained. *Du Muis*, late profeſſor of the Hebrew tongue, in *Paris*; who hath learnedly vindicated the integrity of the Hebrew Text, againſt *Morinus*, is ſo taken with the elegancy of the ſtile, in the Original Hebrew, and the ſublimity of the conceptions, that he thinks no *Latin*, or *Greek* piece, worthy to be compared with it. I ſhall not conteſt with him about that; neither is this a place: but it is obſervable, that even Heathen Poets have exerciſed

their wits upon this subject, the security of a pious, upright man: which to set out emphatically, they have used some expressions as high, as any in the *Psalm.* Witness *Horace* his, *Integer vitæ scelerisque purus*: *Non egit Mauri jaculis, neque arcu*, &c. Yet I never heard, that any body in those days, did quarrel with them for it, though it was then, as it is now, a common observation, that honest upright men, were subject (besides oppression, to which their integrity under a tyrannical government doth more particularly expose them) to all publick calamities, or irregularities of Heaven, or Earth, as Plagues, and Famines, or the like; as other men. If thereof we take the words of the *Psalmist*, as appliable to all godly men in general, which I think is the truest sense, and first intention; they will not bear a *literal construction*; neither, in that sense, are they reconcileable with *Jeremie's*, and divers other holy mens complaints; even *Davids*, among others, in the 37. and 73. *Psalms*, concerning the prosperity of wicked men in this world, and afflictions of the Godly. And though, as in all ages of the world, so now, there may be many, who are ready (in their secret thoughts, at least) to quarrel with God Almighty for it, and tell him, in the language of these days, *That he was bound in his Justice*, to have ordered it otherwise; yet my opinion is, except God to allay the complaints of insolent wretched men, would new mould the world; and retract or annul the *mysteries* of our redemption by such a *Saviour*; (which to fancy, were both ridiculous, and damnable) it was, and is expedient, if not *necessary*, (a word not very fit to be used, when we speak of Gods counsels) it should be as it is. For, what shall we say? That in times of publick calamities, as *Pestilence*, *Inundations*, and the like; Godly men should be exempted, and *they* only perish, that have not the fear of God before their eyes;

known

known unto themselves and others, for such, by their lives and conversations? *They only*, but, *not all*, that are such, for then the world would soon be destitute of inhabitants; that is apparent. Well, *they only*: but if not all; would not this give ground to them, that escape, to think themselves, though nothing less perchance; righteous, and godly, and in the favour of God? And so harden them in their wicked courses, as justified by God himself, in their preservation? Certainly, besides profest or secret *Atheism* and infidelity; there is not, among them that profess to believe; there is not, I say, any greater cause of miscarrying, than *presumption*; so prone we are, if we keep not a very strict watch, and make it our daily business, over our actions, to think better of our selves, than we are, or God doth think, and know. What then would it be, if we had this further inducement of *presumption* of our goodness, and Gods favour, that when others perished, we escaped? But again, would it not, if none but such perished, give ground to them that are really godly, and upright in their lives and conversations; even to them, to think better of themselves than they are; and as men out of danger, to grow proud and secure; highly conceited of themselves; despisers of others, (witness the late *Saints*, as they did call themselves) than which no greater misery can befal a godly man. And then, how can it stand with that grand mystery of our *faith*, that we must be saved by *faith*; if this present world apparently were a place of reward to good and evil? Or a place, where good and evil are discriminated and discerned, by such apparent, as I may call it, partiality? How can St. *Paul's* inference be justified and verified, that the prosperity of wicked men

in

in this world, is a sure evidence unto us, of a day of *Judgment*, because we know, which even ordinary reason doth prompt, if we believe there is a God; that God is just?

HAD these things been well considered of, and much more, though not able to give an account of, we may think our selves in duty bound to believe, some both ancient and late, might have written more warily, than they have done. Of the Ancients, I could name some that write suspitiously, but none that I remember, more peremptorily, than *Lactantius*: a profest Rhetoritian, and an elegant writer, but a raw Christian; who maintaineth, that it is not possible, that either at Sea by tempest, or at Land by war, (or Pestilence, he intended also certainly, though he doth not express it) any *just man* should perish; but that either God, for his sake, will preserve the rest, or when all the rest perish, that are not what he is, he alone shall be preserved. So he the more excusable, because, as I said before, but a raw Christian. I am much deceived, if among the Protestant *Commentators* on the *Psalms*, some one might not be found, who doth maintain the very same opinion. *Bodinus*, I am sure, whether a Protestant, or a Papist, saith little less, concerning the power of *Magicians* and *Witches*; when he saith, that they cannot delude, or blind the eyes (an ordinary thing with them) of them, that fear God; to represent things unto them as true and real, which are not so, but in appearance only: which if true, we may upon the same ground conclude, they have no power at all upon their bodies, to annoy them: which indeed, without Gods permission, we know they have not; but that is not to the purpose, for neither have they upon the bodies of others, till God permit, and give them leave; so that, in that, there is no difference. But to believe that none are *possessed*, or other-

otherwise annoyed by the *Devil*, but wicked men, is a very uncharitable, and erroneous opinion; easily confuted by the *Scriptures*; besides what hath been said before, of Godly men, being subject to publick calamities, as well as other men. They that desire further satisfaction in this point, may, if they please, and be able, read St. *Chrysostome* his large discourse, in three several books, to one of his time, that was possest, and had already been so, when he wrote, for the space of three years; whom he accounted, and so describeth, as an exemplary man, for his holy life and conversation.

THERE was a tradition anciently, so ancient, that *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Prudentius* were, and many more since, have been deceived by it; that S. *Cyprian* had been a great *Magician*, before he was converted to the Christian faith: The occasion of his conversion some say, was, that being passionately in love of a chast Christian Virgin, and out of all hopes to speed any other way; he had recourse to his Master, the *Devil*, that by his means he might obtain his desire. I find it in *Vair*, that the Devil should presently reply unto him, that against them that did truly and sincerely worship *Jesus Christ*, no power or art he had could prevail: at which *Cyprian* being surprised with great astonishment, resolved presently to become a *Christian*. But this part of the story, I do not find either in *Prudentius* or *Nazianzen*; but in *Prudentius* only this, that whilest he was of that profession, among other things, he made use of Magick, to compass his lustful desires; and in *Nazianzen* thus, that the *Devil* having done what he could to work upon the Virgin, in vain; at last (he hath done so, upon like occasions, more than once, as later stories bear witness) did acknowledge so much to *Cyprian*, and put him out of all hopes of obtaining his desire: at which *Cyprian* was so troubled, that he made bold to revile the

Devil,

Devil, (there be too many that will revile God himself, when they miss of their ends) who in revenge, entered into him, and grievously tormented him ; which forced him to apply himself to Christ for help, which having found, that so he became a *Christian.* The best is, if this be not true of our St. *Cyprian*, whose learned and pious works are extant ; it may be sure, and probably is very true, of another, somewhat later *Cyprian*, who died a Martyr too ; so that it is probably, but a mistake of the name.

BUT if *Vair* were mistaken in his account, as to the particular we are upon, grounded upon St. *Cyprian's* authority, to prove that a good Christian is exempted from the stroak and smart of the *Devil's* persecution, in general, and personal possession, particularly : yet it may be supplied, partly out of *Celsus*, in *Origen* ; and partly out of *Origen* himself. Out of *Celsus*, in *Origen*, *lib.* 6. *pag.* 312. where *Celsus* doth declare, that he had learned from an *Ægyptian Musician*, (μουσικὸν : so Printed, and so translated, *Musicum*, by the Latin interpreter : But I propose it to the consideration of them, that are more at leisure, whether μάγον, be not the more likely word ; *there being so much affinity* between *Magus* and *Ægyptius*, in those times, at least, that the bare word, *Ægyptius*, as *Baronius*, *Anno Ch.* 327. *Par.* 17. doth well observe, is sometime taken for *Magus* : And besides, why should *Celsus* regard what was said, or affirmed by a *Musician*, in this particular, being altogether out of his element and profession) that *Magick* could not hurt them that were *Philosophers* ; that is, as the word is often taken, moral vertuous men ; but only those that were ἀπαίδευτοι, *undisciplined men* ; καὶ διαφθαρέντες τὰ ἤθη· *corrupt in their lives and conversations.* Out of *Origen* himself, who there doth very peremptorily deliver it, as a thing approved by good experience, that

that none that served God according to the prescript of Christ, and lived according to his Gospel, and diligently applied themselves night and day, to those prayers that were prescribed (by which I understand *the Morning and Evening Service* of the Church) could receive any harm by *Magick*, or by *Devils*. All this if taken precisely, and limited to this present world and life, except it be restrained to some particular times, and occasions, is, I think, spoken with more confidence, than truth.

YET I will not deny, but that probably, pious upright men, whom the consciousness of their piety and probity, hath not (as it often doth happen) made them secure, and presumptuous, or proud, and arrogant, and despisers of others; are not so subject to this kind of trouble, as wicked leud people. Neither will I be afraid to say, though ridiculous, I know, to the *wits*, and *wise* of these times; that it may be true enough, which by some *Witches* hath been acknowledged to *Remigius*, that they had not the same power to execute their malicious designs upon those, even little children, who daily and duly said their prayers, as they had upon others. But withal, I would have that remembred and thought upon which out of *Pliny*, where we treat of *Prodigies*, was observed before, of a natural kind of faith, and the efficacy of it, which may in part satisfie, why some, sometimes, though not so religious otherwise, may be less obnoxious to the attempts of *Devils* and *Witches*, than some others, though more innocent and deserving, for want of this kind of faith, (which, in some things, may supply the want of a more perfect, or Christian faith) are.

NOW for them that are scandalized, that the *Devil* (with Gods permission) should have such

power

power over men, as well the good, as the bad: first of all, let them remember, that even St. *Paul*, that chosen vessel, so great and gracious with God, was not exempted from the common condition of other Godly men; and what Gods answer was, when St. *Paul* addressed himself to him, for relief, and release: and leaving to God, the secrets of his *will*, and his *providence*; let us consider, what is, or may be manifest of it unto all men, to prove that there is a *providence*, which doth take care of the world, and all men in general; first, in restraining the power of the *Devil*, so that he that as an *Angel*, by nature, is able to do so much, can do nothing at all, without his permission. In what case do we think the world, this *sublunary world*, (though but a very little and inconsiderable point or piece, a man would think, in comparison of the higher world, which he hath nothing to do with) this sublunary world, I say, would be, if the government of it were left unto him; who neverthelesse for the great power he hath in it, is stiled in the Scripture κοσμοκράτωρ, or *Governour of the world*: For what he doth to some, who partly seek unto him themselves; or for some hidden reason, besides their sins, by Gods permission, become obnoxious unto him; he would do unto all, who doubts it, even to the destruction of all, (his great ambition) were not his power restrained. And it is observable, that he hath most power, where God is least known, and ignorance and brutishness most reign; as in the most *Northern* parts of the world, as by many is observed. But again: O the goodness, and mercy of God towards men! that though the *Devil* have such power in the Earth, that all the treasures of the Earth, may in some respect, be said to be in his hands, and at his disposing; yet he hath no power, or very little, to gratifie them, who by covenant; tacit or express, have entred themselves into his service;

service; which if he had, for one sworn vassal, or servant that he hath, (such is the madness of most men, left to themselves, because they do not seek unto God) he would have a hundred, if not a thousand. But again, what miserable ends they make commonly, that have served him most faithfully, (an account whereof is given by more than one) and how basely, he doth usually forsake them in time of greatest need; leaves them comfortless, desperate and despairing; yea sometimes, betrayeth them himself, and seems to rejoyce *openly*, (which we know, though he doth not shew it, he doth always *secretly*) and to insult at their calamities. How many have been torn in pieces, by himself: or unmercifully snatched, and carried away, God knows whether? Others, with many curses, stoned by the people; others some other way, not natural; helpless and hopeless ended their miserable life? So have many of Gods servants too, as to bodily pains and torments; (some *Atheistical* wretch perchance, will be ready to reply) as those the Apostle, in his Epistle to the *Hebrews* speaketh of, who died cruel deaths: yea, cruel as to the world, we grant it, but not comfortless, even in greatest pains; and honourable after their deaths.

BUT lastly, is there not a providence, yea a miraculous providence, though little understood, and therefore less thought of, in this, that the Devil by the priviledge of his nature being endowed with such power, and bearing such hatred to mankind; yet cannot do one half, yea one quarter of the hurt, he doth unto men, were it not for the help of men, as imployed, and set on by men. A great and incomprehensible *mystery*, to the wisest that write of it, that their power should be so limited; but an effect, certainly, of Gods love, and respect towards men.

FOR these things therefore that are manifest, it well becomes

becomes all good Christians to praise God, and to acknowledge his good Providence towards men; and for those things we can find no satisfaction from *reason*, to submit unto him with humility; which is so great a proof of true Religion, and Christianity, that for this very thing we may believe many things are not revealed, for a trial of our submission and humility in this kind.

NOW to return to our *Psalm*: It argued a noble mind in *Plato*, and doth relish of some kind of inspiration, (I did think so, where I treat of it more largely, in the *Annotations* upon the *Psalms*, before mentioned; upon the 37. *Psalm*) who would have in his Commonweal, all happiness, by law, so annexed to goodness, and righteousness; that it should not be lawful for any man, young or old, in any discourse, publick or private, to speak otherwise. And some pregnant arguments he hath, to prove it so, that such *only* are truly and really the happy men of the world, who are upright honest men. But however, what opinion soever men might have of his arguments; it should not be lawful for any man to speak otherwise, hoping that in time such language in all places, and companies, would breed in young people, an honourable esteem of vertue and probity; and so dispose them the better to the pursuit of it. Which, though some men may slight and deride, as they are ready to do every thing, that doth not fit their own fancy; yet to men of better judgment, and experience, may appear very considerable. And who can doubt, but that, when children, and young people, never hear the dead spoken of, (such as died in wars, especially, for their Country) but in the phrase of μακαρῖται or *happy men*, which in those days, was the proper expression for *a dead man*: it did much conduce to breed in people a contempt of death, without which there can be no true generosity? Whereas now, the common phrase of,

poor

poor Man! *poor Father*! *poor Mother*! and the like; (which I could never hear without some kind of secret abhorrency, that Christians should come so short of Heathens wisdom) what can it breed in children, and weaker people, but a fear and detestation of death?

COULD I be perswaded, as many anciently, and some of late have been of opinion, that *Plato* was acquainted with the Scriptures of the Old Testament; I should make no doubt, but when he Commented that Law, he had in his thoughts the words of *Ecclesiastes*, which to me, in times of greatest desolation, when violence and oppression were at their height, always proved a very comfortable cordial; *Though a sinner do evil a hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know, that it shall be well with them that fear God; which fear before him: But it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow, because he feareth not before God*, Eccles. 8. 12. What is the effect of all this, *Though he prolong; yet he shall not prolong*, &c. but this; that though wicked men, in, and by length of days, and other worldly prosperity, may seem to ordinary reason and judgment, to be happy; yet really, they are not so, but in their very happiness (as supposed) miserable, and unhappy: a kind of contrariety, but not to faith. And what is it *Plato* would have, but this very thing; and that it should not be lawful to speak otherwise? But as to *Solomon*'s words, let me add by the way: I conceive some wrong is done unto them, by breaking the coherence with the foregoing verse, by a new *Paragraph*. For having in the · eleventh verse, pointed at one main ground of wickedness, and *Atheism*; which is, the not speedy execution of Justice, in this world; and Gods suffering of wicked men, to thrive by their wickedness, (for, *God is known by the Judgment he executeth*:

saith the *Psalmist*) he doth oppose this noble confession, or profession of his faith, to vulgar judgments; which would be more clear, if, as often, supplied with a *But*: *But I, though a sinner*, &c. *Theognis*, nay *Homer*, have said the same, in effect: but I will not digress so far.

NOW to apply this to our *Psalm*: It is the opinion of some learned men, that this *Psalm* was penned of purpose for a *formula*, or pattern of praying, in time of danger. And indeed, I account it a most excellent, and Divine form of prayer, to that end; provided that we take St. *Paul's* exposition along with it, which is, not to think our selves secured by those words, that we shall not suffer any of those things, private or publick, which are naturally incidental unto all men, as men; but to secure us, that if we put our trust in God, and have a lively apprehension of his *Goodness*, *Power*, and *Mercy*, the end of our sufferings shall be comfortable, and glorious. St. *Paul's* words are: *Who shall separate us*, &c. from verse 35. to the end of the Chapter. Certainly, if in all these, *more than conquerors*; then in all these *happy*, (as *Plato* would have it) truly, and really; though not always, nor all equally, so sensible, of our happiness. Neither I think did the Prophet *Habakkuk*, by those words, *Yet we will rejoyce in the Lord: We will joy in the God of our salvation, Hab.* 3. 18. promise himself much *joy*, in a time of publick famine; such a time *Jeremy* speaketh of, when he saith, *His eyes did fail with tears*, &c. *because the children and sucklings swoon in the streets*, &c. or altogether presume, when others round about him died for want of bread; God would miraculously feed and preserve him: but only this, that no calamity can be so great, and grievous, but if we trust in God, and patiently submit, we may find comfort in this confidence; That (to use St. *Paul's* expression) *the sufferings of this present time, are not worthy to compared with*

with the glory that shall be revealed in us, Rom. 8. 18.

I HAVE said what I intended upon this *Psalm*: More perchance might be expected by some, concerning the several kinds, or orders of Spirits, which, by some, are supposed to be alluded unto, by the *Psalmist* in those words; *Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day, nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon-day*, Verse 5. and 6. That there be different kinds or orders of Spirits, all evil, and enemies to mankind, I easily yield; though not so ready perchance, to subscribe to every thing that *Psellus*, that learned *Platonist* (whether so sound Christian in all things, I cannot tell) hath written of them. And besides them, there may be, perchance, some other substances or *Spirits*, (so called, because not discernable by bodily eyes, in their own nature; but whether *immortal*, or no, I do not know) which have no quarrel at all to mankind, nor any particular interest in the affairs of men, but as they are casually provoked or molested; and sometimes, invited, and allured perchance, as some are of opinion. But all this, more than God by his Word hath been pleased to teach, and reveal, is to me but *perchance*, and, *it may be*, nothing that I know, or believe, with any certainty. And for my part, such speculations and enquiries, if pursued with much ambition and eagerness; and without some special occasion, incident to any mans office or duty; I hold to be much more curious, if not dangerous, than profitable, or convenient, as elsewhere I have had occasion more largely to declare my self. As for those words of the *Psalmist*, there be, *Delrio*, and others, that will give a further account, if it be desired. My purpose did not engage me, and I am very willing to let it alone.

FINIS.

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FINIS.

OF CREDULITY AND INCREDULITY IN Things CIVIL.

The Second Part.

HERE I ſhall deſire the Reader, in the firſt place, to take notice, that though we diſtinguiſh between things *Natural* and *Civil*; by *Natural*, underſtanding properly ſuch things, as are the work of Nature, immediately, without the concurrence, or intervention of man's will or counſel: and by *Civil*, thoſe which owe their production to the will or counſel of man: yet, in many things, *Nature*, and *the Will of man* do cooperate, ſo that the ſame thing may in different reſpects, be redu-

cible to either of the two, *Nature*, or *the will of man.* For example, some things that are done by Art, or commonly ascribed unto Art, and of the same kind, apparently, as artificial things: yet, in truth, the effects of Nature, more than Art. So many actions of men, which flow originally from the natural temper, or present constitution of the body; or from some other natural cause, moving and inciting, but not constraining; except the present temper, or distemper have so far prevailed, as to force. Besides, the very *Will* of man may, in some respects, be reduced to nature; and all actions that proceed from it, in some respects, I say, not unfitly, be termed natural. For in very deed, God excepted, (whom neverthelefs the *Stoicks* termed Ζῶον) there is nothing but *in some sense*, is *natural*; even Monsters, the greatest that are, and most wondred at; as *Aristotle* hath long ago taught us. If therefore in this *Second Part*, we insist upon any thing, that might as well have been spoken of in the *first*, that the Reader might not rashly censure, or condemn, as though we had forgotten *our text*, or ignorantly confounded matters; this warning, I thought, would not be amiss.

BUT now I must meet with another objection, which may be as considerable, if not more. *Of Credulity and Incredulity, in things Civil*: what need of this, in this age; among us, in *England*, at least? If ever there were a time, when those verses of the Poet,

Omnia jam fient, fieri quæ posse negantur;
Et nihil est, de quo, non sit habenda fides:

In *English*, more to our purpose, thus:

All wondring, cease: such things our Age, our eyes (have seen;
Nothing now incredibl' which incredibl' hath been:

If

If ever a time, I say, when appliable, and true, in this our *England*, at least: surely this is the time. Have we not seen a most godly religious Prince, and King; not by one single Rogue, as two late Kings of *France*, one after another; but by his own Subjects, in multitude, pretending, not to *Christianity* only, in general; but to the *Protestant Religion*, (or *Reformation* rather) upon pretences of Justice and Religion, massacred in cold bloud, upon a Scaffold, erected in triumph before his own House, or ordinary place of abode; with the applause and *Hallelujahs*, not of the said multitude only, but of some others also, whom by their birth and education, no man would have thought capable of such savageness and immanity? Have we seen this, and wonder to hear, that there was, or is yet, any such people, or Nation, who when their Parents, Fathers and Mothers, are grown old and crazy, knock them on the head, or some other way, hasten their death, and feast themselves, their Wives and Children, with their flesh? Or if we be told (of which more afterwards perchance) of a certain People in the North, men and women, who for some time of the year, of creatures that are naturally rational, and *made after the Image of God*; turn into very Wolves; of all wild Beasts, the most cruel and ravening: can we wonder at it, and think it *incredible*? But again, we have read with wonder, (if we believe it; though, truly, some later stories, well attested, may incline us, not to think it *incredible*) of a *Remus* and *Romulus*, two Brothers, preserved by the milk and nursesery of a she-Wolf; and with no less wondring, but more certainty, of a Prophet, fed by *Ravens*, in a Cave. Should we well ponder that connexion, and concatenation of providences, which attended our present *Gracious Sovereign*; and among others, by what hands he was led, lodged, and fed in a Tree, whilest his ene-

mies round about did hunt and pursue him; to preserve him to as miraculous (because without bloud, and by those hands, in part, that had been active in his Father's ruine) a *Restoration*: we need not make such a wonder of either, to think the one (that of the two Brothers) *incredible*; or the other, of the Prophet, not *credible*, but as we have Scripture authority for it.

BUT thirdly: the burning of Cities; by enemies, especially, and chances of war, to them that have read stories, cannot be very wonderful. Yet, such is the nature of man; who would have believed, that he should live, to see the burning of *London*? Especially, when not by any publick Enemy? But that which makes it most wonderful, is, that *though*, to our great horror and amazement, *we see it is done; yet how*, and by whom, *we do not yet certainly know*: though, *if reports be true, it was known and talked of by more than one, some days before it hapned.* And, who knows, had not our *Gracious Sovereign*, and his *Royal Brother*, both by personal attendance, and by wise contrivances, appeared so zealous, as they did, for the quenching of it; whether any part of either *London* or *Westminster* had been to be seen, at this day? All these, some as *mercies*, other as *judgments*; (not to mention the late dreadful *Plague*, the like whereof, for the continuance, and number of the dead, hath not been known in *England*) great wonders, as I suppose; and such, as to, if not immediate, yet more remote posterity may seem *incredible*. But the greatest wonder, not to be uttered without deepest sighs and groans, is yet behind. Such *mercies*, such *judgments*, were enough to have made dissolute Heathens, if not *Christians*, (without some preaching also) yet moral honest men, religious, in their kind, and sensible of a Deity. And, behold! they have made of Christians, in outward profession, real Atheists, in their opinions;

nions; and worse than Atheists, for all manner of licentiousness, in their lives. *Epicurus*, who generally, in former ages, among all accounted sober and wise, Heathens and Christians, learned and unlearned, for his life; but more for his impious doctrine, and outragious opposition of whatsoever pretended to God, or godliness, was a name of horror and detestation; is now become the *Saint*, of many Christians.

BUT lest this by some, may be thought to be spoken *more Rhetorically*, and in opposition to the *times*, than truly and conscionably: it will not be amiss, nor impertinent to our present theme and task, to pause a-while upon this subject, and to consider, how this man (which in former ages, among sober wise men, that had any sense of piety, would have been thought so prodigious, and *incredible*) came of late years, among other late *discoveries* of the age, by some accounted none of the least, to be so well thought of amongst us. But I began this, of the wonders of our age, in an *objection*: let me first answer it, lest I forget it. It is very true, that this age beyond former ages, hath brought forth such things, which they that have seen and believe, may, in a manner, think nothing *incredible*. But first, all men are not of one temper. And then, what we have *seen*, posterity must believe, upon relation: and there will be a time, when what we know, to be true, because we have seen it, to many, may seem so strange, that they will, if not deny, yet doubt the truth of it. In a word therefore, whatever our luck may be, it is our desire, that more than one age, or some that are not yet born, may reap the benefit of what we write. Now to *Epicurus*.

FIRST, for his life, of which more afterwards. But we will suppose him, for a time, to have been a sober temperate man: or rather, his life to have been, sober and temperate, externally. For it is a true observation, both of Philosophers and Divines, that not the outward actions barely, is that that can denominate a man truly sober and temperate, or just and righteous, and the like; but the opinions (τὰ δόγματα) from which those actions do proceed. So neverthelesse, that we, who do not see the hearts of others, judge charitably of all men, by their actions, which we see; except themselves reveal their hearts, and make open profession of their opinions. *Epicurus* his opinion, did very much engage him to a sober temperate life; who, as he did acknowledge no humane felicity (I know what I say, and shall make it good, before I have done) present, or future, but in *bodily pleasure*; so, knew well enough, and to that end, hath many specious profitable *memento's* and advices to others of his crew; that the right and sober management of such pleasures, was the way to enjoy them long, and to make them more pleasing, at the very time. Besides, I would ask, if the Devil have a design to infect men, with some impious execrable doctrine; will he chuse (if he have choice) an open riotous leud man, to be his instrument, or a sober man, in shew at least, if he can have him? Which makes me remember, what I find in the Margents of a *Lucretius*, which once belonged to a very learned and judicious man. Over against those words, at the beginning of the fourth book, *Deus ille fuit, Deus, inclute Memmi,* &c. he writes; *Epicurus, Deus judicio Lucretii: meo, Diaboli* ὑποφήτης *nequissimus*: that is, Epicurus, *in* Lucretius *his judgment, a God: in my judgment, a wicked Proctor, or Minister of the Devil.* Let us therefore, in the first place, look into his opinions out of his own writings,

tings, whereof no question can be made. First, that the world (Heaven and Earth) came to what it is, not by any Providence, but by a casual jumbling of *atomes*, (I need not comment upon that: some men I believe would be well pleased, to have them in childrens Catechisms instead of somewhat else, that doth not so well please them) that Sun and Moon, were not intended, either for light, or for any other use, for the benefit of men; nor the eyes made to see, or the ear to hear, or the feet for motion; but all by chance, without any fore-cast of providence. This is horrible: and there is more of it. But by the way, that the Sun and Moon were but just so big, and every Star, as they appeared unto us, and our eyes. There is no impiety in this, perchance, some will say: but I pray, hath not this man well deserved, that his *Philosophy* should be inquired into, with so much care, and diligence? But we go on: That, what men call right and wrong, justice and injustice, vertue and vice, were but fancies, and empty sounds; nothing, truly real, and worthy our pursuit, but what was pleasant and delightful, which also was profitable. Is not this impious? can any thing be more? Was he a man, or a monster, a Devil that could harbour such thoughts, and take such pains to seduce others, to the same perswasion? But I know it will be said: Did not the same man explain himself, that by *pleasure*, he did understand chiefly, a vertuous life, without which there could be no true pleasure? And again, Doth not the same, though he acknowledged no Divine Providence, yet acknowledge and profess to believe, that there is a God; and that he thought it very convenient that God, (whether one or more) *for the excellency of his nature*, should be reverenced and worshipped by men? But I beseech you, can any man be so foolish, so sottish himself; or so far presume upon the ignorance and simplicity of others,

as to plead this for *Epicurus* in good earnest? What is before objected to him, is written, and maintained by him, very positively, without any exception, or qualification, in divers of his writings: as shall be more fully declared afterwards. But *Epicurus* knew, what had hapned to other professed Atheists before him: it did concern him no less than his life, not to deny positively, the being of a God, or Gods. But what Gods I pray, did he acknowledge? How doth he describe them? *Homunculis similes, lineamentis duntaxat extremis, non habitu solido*, &c. that is, Like *men and no men: having all the members of a mans body, but not the use of any: in the shape and outward appearance, but not substance of a body.* So *Cicero* out of him, who, though he liked not his Philosophy, yet did much favour his person, and never, or seldom speaks of him, but very tenderly; not so much for his sake, I believe, as for theirs, some of his best friends, that were of that Sect. Neither could he mistake him, or misreport him, than whom no man of those times was better versed in the writings of Greek Philosophers. *Seneca* also, who did study to the utmost of his power, to acquit *Epicurus*, and to advance the credit of his sentences; not without some respect to himself, probably, (whereof more afterwards) yet when he speaks of his God, what a creature doth he make of it? *Epicurus*, saith he, *did disarm his God, as from all manner of weapons, so from all kind of power too: and that no man might have any cause to fear him, he hath thrown him far out of the world*: (*Extra mundum*: for which some Editions, *metum*: others, *motum*: which *Lipsius* would have, *metam*: but *mundum*, the right certainly: confirmed by what followeth; *In medio intervallo hujus & alterius cœli, desertus, sine animali, sine homine, sine re, ruinas mundorum*, &c. as also by the same expression, in another place, *Alius*

illos

illos extra mundum suum projicit) *out of the world*, both *Terrestrial* and *Celestial*, as he doth explain himself afterwards: *Nulla illi, nec tribuendi, nec nocendi materia est: Non exaudiens vota, nec nostri curiosus*, &c. *De benef.* 4. *cap.* 18. Any man that reads that whole passage, may easily see, that *Seneca* doth but make himself sport with *Epicurus* his God, and thereby doth give us to understand plainly enough, what *Epicurus* his true intention was, by making such a God. And yet, strange, though that whole fourth book of *Seneca* be written against *Epicurus* his brutish opinion, that no man *should be kind, or loving to any other, but for his own sake; and that, the only end of all friendship among men*; and that he speak very roundly of his, and their sensuality, that were of that Sect, in some places, as in the second, and thirteenth Chapters particularly: yet some of his late Patrons are so shameless, as to produce some words out of this book, as spoken in good earnest by *Seneca*, to commend him, and his admirable piety; than which nothing can be more senseless and impudent, and more contrary to the drift of the whole book. And so, when he would seem to explain himself sometimes, that by *pleasure*, he did chiefly intend such, as did proceed from a vertuous life; what sober man that hath read his other writings, or such passages out of them, in best Authors, whereof no question can be made, where he doth so punctually, so expresly deliver himself, and argue the case, but must think, except he had formally recanted, and disowned those writings, that he did but basely, and impudently abuse the world, by such palliating glosses and explications? Might not he fear here also, that they (we call them *Heathens*: I wish there were no worse *Christians*) who were once ready, as *Seneca* doth somewhere record, to tear an Actor, upon the Stage, in pieces, for extolling

extolling the happineſs of *wealth* or *money*, ſo much, as to make it, *Summum humani generis bonum*: that is, *The thing wherein mans happineſs doth chiefly conſiſt*; would meet with him, ſome time or other, in the ſtreets, for ſetting up pleaſure, and voluptuouſneſs, as the only *good*, the only *God*, unto men? And ſuch an enemy to God and Providence was this wicked man, that in his writings now extant, when his *atomes* could not help him, and he doth acknowledge himſelf at a ſtand; and doth beg of others, that they would ſtudy and find ſomewhat, that hath any ſhew of probability, to *help* him out; yet he makes it always his condition, that they would not fly to God and a Providence; he had no patience to hear of that. And ſo much for the Doctrine of the new *Saint*: Now for his Life.

WHAT was laid to his charge, whileſt he lived, even by ſome of his own diſciples, *who profeſſed they left him meerly for the leudneſs of his converſation*; and by others after his death: *Diog. Laertius*, who hath written his life, doth, in part, at the very beginning of it, declare. But then he tells you, they were all lyes; and that ſuch and ſuch Epiſtles, and other writings, evidences of his wicked life, were but fictitious writings: and this, *Gaſſendus* his friend, the great reviver and abettor of *Epicuriſm*, in this unhappy age, doth take for a very ſufficient refutation. But I pray you, what was *Diog. Laertius*, that his authority, ſo many ages after *Epicurus* his death; when all the world almoſt, had conſented in their judgments againſt him; ſhould be oppoſed to the authority of ſo many worthy men, of all profeſſions, Philoſophers, Hiſtorians, Mathematicians, Poets, of his, and ſome precedent ages? Of which numbers ſome were ſo far from being *Stoicks*, that they wrote againſt them. Was he not, himſelf, this *Diogenes*, not to ſpeak of his defects otherwiſe, which have been obſerved by learned

learned men; a professed *Epicuræan*? Οἰκόθεν μάρτυς· not therefore, among indifferent impartial men, in reason, to be admitted as a witness; or if admitted to speak, yet not so to be trusted, as *Gassendus* doth him, in every thing, though there be never so many witnesses, of far better worth and credit, to the contrary. And yet we may observe, how *Gassendus* doth stretch his words sometimes, to make them serve his turn, beyond all reason and equity. For example: Where *Laertius*, after that he hath related the accusations of many, of several heads, or crimes, against *Epicurus*; he concludes, μεμήνασιν δ' οὗτοι. This *Gassendus* (page 140. 163.) would have to belong to all, that went before; whereas it will appear (to say nothing of the οὗτοι, which may be here a pregnant word, opposed to ἐκεῖνοι· that is, those before spoken of; including a tacit concession) that it belongs to the last accusation only, (though that also, most true, by the attestation of more ancient and considerable witnesses, than ten such as *Laertius*: as *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, &c.) whereby *Epicurus* is censured as one, that despised all men, but himself; even those to whom he did owe what he was, and whose writings he had usurped, and substituted for his own. To which *Laertius* doth oppose many things, to prove his φιλανθρωπίαν πρὸς πάντας: his *Parents*, his *Friends*, his *Disciples*, his *Country*; and then goes on to the refutation of other crimes. And indeed, how could *Laertius* say, that all the former accusations were false, when some were taken out of his own books, and writings, acknowledged by *Laertius*, and whereof no question was ever made, but that that they were his? As for example, that he should write in his book, περὶ τέλους, (or, *of mans felicity*) Οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἔχω τί νοήσω τ' ἀγαθὸν, &c. that is, *For what to call good, if you take away the pleasure of taste, and of the ear, and those pleasures, which arise from beauty, and carnal copulation, I know*

know not. Which words to be *Epicurus's*, is attested by divers Ancients, (whose attestation we shall not need, because not denied by *Laertius*) but especially by *Cicero*, very particularly; first in his *II. De finibus*, where he translates him thus; *Qui testificatur, ne intelligere quidem se posse quid sit, aut ubi sit ullum bonum, præter illud quod cibo & potione, & aurium delectatione, & obscæna voluptate capiatur*: but more fully in his third *Tusculan*, where he hath a long Comment upon the words, taken out of that book of *Epicurus*, *De summo bono*: of which *Cicero* saith, that it doth fully comprehend their *discipline* or *doctrine*; and is full, he saith, of such sayings, in commendation of voluptuousness, and carnal pleasures. Durst *Cicero* oppose these things, to his *Epicuræan* friends, who were many, and of the best he had, had there been any ground at all, in those days, of suspition for that, which *Gassendus* would have us to believe, that those were spurious writings, or interpolated, and corrupted by the *Stoicks*, *Epicurus* his enemies? If we take that liberty, we shall not know what to say of any man, what he believed or maintained, by his writings: What *Plato*, what *Aristotle*, what any Fathers or Hereticks; if it will serve to say, those writings are spurious, or adulterated and corrupted. But observe, I pray, how earnestly, how ingenuously *Cicero* doth express himself, and appeal to the consciences (if they had any) of those men: *Num fingo, num mentior? cupio ref.* &c. *Do I feign* or *forge? Do I lye? I rather wish I could be confuted. For what do I labour, but that the truth (O Christians hear this) in every controversie may prevail,* or, *be understood, and come to light.* Here *Gassendus* should have fixed, could he have found or devised any thing, to help his friend out of the mire. But such convincing passages, not to be eluded by any art, or sophistication of wit, he wisely passeth over: but with all possible

possible diligence ransacks all kind of Authors, to see what he can find, that may with the help of his sophistry, and false dealing, have a shew of somewhat, to make that beastly swine, to appear in the shape of a rational man. Were it my business now, or could I stand so long upon it, without trespassing too much either against my Readers patience, or my present weakness of body, as to examine all his allegations, I am very confident, there is scarce any thing considerable in his whole book, but would be found, either impertinent, or false: as if it had been the priviledge of that cause, (as indeed it is the *necessity*, because not otherwise pleadable) and for which he hoped no man would blame him. I should say so too, could any *necessity* oblige an honest man to undertake so wicked a cause. However, that I may give a taste to the Reader, I will take one of the most considerable Chapters in the whole book, the seventh of the third book, where he doth examine *Plutarch's* authority, or testimony concerning *Epicurus*: a Chapter, one of the most considerable, I say, because of that high *Elogium* which he doth give unto *Plutarch*, *Nullum authorem omni memoria extare, quem cum viro illo eximio comparandum existimem*; *That no age* (without exception) *hath born any Author, Whom he can, for true worth, compare with him.* I have a very great opinion of *Plutarch* too; and if instead of so many foolish *Romances*, *Stage-plays*, and the like; such a serious Author, who hath variety enough to please every palate, were read; it is not likely, that the Gentry and Nobility could degenerate so much every where, as they are generally reported. But except he were read in his own tongue; (which to do, were he the only Greek Author, now extant, I think three or four years study to learn that tongue, would not be

mis-spent) I wish he were better translated. But I must except the *French* translation of the *Lives*, which is excellent. Such an opinion I have of *Plutarch*; yet I should hardly go so far, as *Gassendus* doth. Now let us see how he doth deal with this worthy man, and how with his Reader. That *Plutarch* doth generally (always I might say) speak of *Epicurus*, as an infamous and senseless man, that is not denied. Such a lover of reason, and vertue, could not but heartily compassionate the phrenzy of so many men, who in all ages have been glad to find a patron of their sensuality. Though divers books he wrote against him, are not now extant; yet there be enough to satisfie any man, what he thought of *Epicurus*, and his doctrine. This could not but grievously pinch *Gassendus*, and deeply wound the cause that he had undertaken. But what if he can shew from *Plutarch* himself, that he rather followed the *common opinion*, in what he wrote of *Epicurus*, than his own judgment, or the *truth*? I must needs say, that in my judgment he had done much, and more than any ten or twenty Chapters of his book, if well examined, will amount unto: though very strange, if not *incredible*, that so grave a man, so serious, would not only occasionally speak of him, as others did, generally, whether right or wrong: but would write books of him, and against him, of purpose, which nothing did oblige him to do; only to countenance a publick false fame. But let us hear. *Plutarch*, saith he, *in one place after he hath mentioned what those crimes are, Which made* Epicurus *and his followers infamous to the vulgar, to wit, want of friends,* (that is, to admit of no friendship among men, but such as is grounded upon present profit, or gain, and *selfishness*, if I may so speak; which to have been *Epicurus* his opinion, *Laertius* himself doth not deny) *an idle life, Atheism, voluptuousness, neglect of all things:*

(but

(but pleaſures, or ſenſuality) well, what then? *Then*, ſaith he, *Plutarch* doth object to himſelf; *but theſe things unjuſtly, perchance*; (are objected or laid to their charge) *to which he doth anſwer*; *yea, but it is not truth, but opinion that we look after.* And ſo concludes, that *Plutarch* by his own confeſſion in thoſe things he did write of *Epicurus*, was φιλόδοξος not φιλαλήθης: *a follower, or lover of opinion, and not of truth.* And if *Plutarch*, ſo grave, ſo ſerious; why not we, as elſewhere he doth argue, believe it of others alſo? Is not this enough, think we, to make *Epicurus* victorious, in deſpight of all teſtimonies, and evidences? For if *Plutarch*, who was no *Stoick*, (the common exception, as if all *Stoicks* had been *Epicurus* his ſworn enemies, which is moſt falſe) nor friend to *Stoicks*, he hath written againſt them it is well known: But if *Plutarch* alſo, was carried with the general fame, though he knew the contrary to be true: what may we expect from others, though very numerous, yet, with *Gaſſendus*, not of equal credit and authority, as *Plutarch*; according to that judgement which he made before of him? But now look upon *Plutarch*, and we ſhall ſee (for he was too learned and diligent, that we ſhould think it a miſtake) what conſcience this man made, of lying for *Epicurus*. Among other books that *Plutarch* did write againſt *Epicurus*, one is Ὅτι οὐδὲ ζῆν ἡδέως ἐστιν, κατ' Ἐπίκουρον: that is, *That in following* Epicurus *and his doctrine*, (though *pleaſure*, the only thing that he did ſeek) *a man cannot live with pleaſure.* This to prove, he doth uſe many arguments, and doth alledge divers paſſages out of *Epicurus* his own writings. All this while, nothing, as doubting, or following the common *opinion*, but very poſitively and peremptorily. At laſt, two or three parts of the book already ſpent, ſtill purſuing his purpoſe, that according to *Epicurus*, men cannot live with pleaſure; he pro-

ceeds to another proof, or argument, which is this: *Epicurus* did believe, that from a good report, or name, (δόξης) some pleasure was to be reaped. Himself, as *Plutarch* out of his own writings doth prove; a vain-glorious man, if ever man was, and covetous of praise and reputation. *But so it is*, saith *Plutarch*, that ἀσελγίαν, ἀπορξίαν, ἀθεότης, ἡδυπάθεια, &c. *that Atheism, voluptuousness*, &c. *which things all men*, (I desire the Reader to observe) *but they that profess it, ascribe to that Sect, are things generally odious, and infamous, in the highest degree*; whence it must of necessity follow, that from this consideration also, *Epicurus* doth not go the right way to *pleasure*. This to make yet stronger, and to prevent all subterfuges or evasions, *Plutarch*, as from one of them, doth answer: *O but these things are laid to our charge wrongfully*: (the basest of the world generally, would be accounted honest, if they knew how) *what is that to the purpose*, replieth *Plutarch*, *whether true or no?* The question is not now, whether deservedly, or undeservedly; whether truly or falsly; but what *reputation*, (δόξαν) you have in the world. For who doth not see, that if a man, (which was proved before of *Epicurus*, and his adherents) place happiness, or part of happiness, in a *good name*; and become, whether justly or unjustly, *infamous*; he doth thereby undoubtedly lose some part of his happiness. Therefore saith *Plutarch*, arguing from their own suppositions and opinions; τὴν δόξαν, οὐ τὴν ἀλήθειαν σκοποῦμεν: *reputation*, and not *truth*, or *true desert, is the thing we here enquire into*. And indeed had *Plutarch* upon this their answer, gone about, by good proofs and evidences (which elsewhere he doth plentifully) to make good, that what was laid to their charge, *Atheism*, &c. was very true, and real, as it was generally believed; he had, in that, wronged his cause, and made an unseasonable digression; since, it was nothing

thing

thing at all to the queſtion propoſed, what man *Epicurus* had been really, or what his followers were, or had been; but what *fame* (δόξαν) they had in the world. And could *Gaſſendus*, grounding upon the ambiguity of the word δόξα, and concealing the occaſion, and the coherence, (a notorious kind of jugling, and falſification) could *Gaſſendus*, I ſay, from theſe words infer that, as *Plutarch*'s acknowledgment, that what he had written of *Epicurus*, was all in compliance to *opinion*, (δόξῃ) and not according to *truth*? Or did not *Gaſſendus* more probably rely ſo much upon the favour of the times, and thoſe that did ſet him on work, that he thought any argument that had but any ſlender appearance of truth or probability; if but favouring Atheiſm, and ſenſuality, would paſs currently enough, and get him fame and good will, to boot?

BUT we have not done. *Plutarch* in the ſame book, a little before, doth mention that famous *Letter* (mentioned by ſo many) of *Epicurus*, when upon his death-bed: by which he makes himſelf a notable ſtout man, who in ſuch extremities of bodily pains, (as he doth expreſs) could enjoy himſelf with ſuch peace and tranquillity of mind. In which peace and tranquillity to preſerve him, that which, by his own words and acknowledgment, as ſet out by *Plutarch*, did moſt conduce; was, ἡ μνήμη τῶν ἀπολελαυσμένων πρότερον ἡδονῶν: that is, *the remembrance of thoſe* (according to the propriety of the words, *fleſhly*) *pleaſures, he had formerly enjoyed*. This *Plutarch* thinks very ſtrange, and almoſt *incredible*: (wicked varlet! as though he intended with his laſt bloud, to ſeal the truth of his abominable doctrine) But here *Gaſſendus* doth inſult: *At hic Plutarchus*, &c. *But* Plutarch, *to the end that he might more effectually traduce* Epicurus, *hath depraved and changed the words*, &c. who can excuſe *Plutarch*, if guilty of ſo great a crime; or *Gaſſendus*, if it prove an arrant falſehood,

and calumny? The queſtion is, whether *Epicurus* wrote, ἡ μνήμη τῶν ἀπολελαυσμένων πρότερον ἡδονῶν, as before exhibited, and tranſlated: or ἡ μνήμη τῶν γεγονότων ἡμῖν διαλογισμῶν: that is, *The remembrance of our former diſcourſes and reaſonings*: as exhibited by *Diog. Laertius*, and tranſlated by *Cicero*, *II. De finibus*; *memoria rationum inventorumque noſtrorum*. And this, *Gaſſendus* thinks is enough (himſelf, I doubt, did not think ſo: he had read *Cicero* better than ſo) to prove *Plutarch* a falſary. I muſt acknowledge, that *Cicero*'s tranſlation is a great evidence, for that reading, exhibited by *Laertius*. But had *Gaſſendus* looked further into *Cicero*, or rather ingenuouſly told us, all that he knew, *Una eademque manus, vulnus opemque*: he would have told us, that as the reading exhibited by *Laertius*, is found in *Cicero*; ſo, that exhibited by *Plutarch*, in the ſame *Cicero*, more than once, I am ſure; as particularly, *V. Tuſcul. Sed una ſe dicit recordatione acquieſcere præteritarum voluptatum*: and again in the ſame book, from whence that other reading is produced, more punctually, and emphatically; *ſed vobis* (ſpeaking to men of that Sect) *voluptatum perceptarum recordatio beatam vitam facit, & quidem corpore* (according to the proper ſignification of the word, ἀπόλαυσις) *perceptarum*. And this enough, I think, to acquit *Plutarch* from all ſuſpition of any falſification: what can be ſaid for *Gaſſendus*, to acquit him of falſe and injurious dealing, except this, that it was for ſo good an end, as to promote *Atheiſm* or *Epicuriſm*, I profeſs I know not. Well, it muſt needs be, that either in *Cicero's* time both thoſe readings were in the Text of that Letter, (which may be thought the more probable, becauſe *Cicero* in the ſame book, or place, takes notice of both) or, that there were two different Copies of that one *Letter*, and that *Cicero* made uſe of either reading, as he ſaw occaſion. This is certain: to which I will add,

as to me not improbable, though I will not affirm it, that some of *Epicurus* his friends, or disciples, when that letter came first abroad, being much ashamed of those words, exhibited by *Plutarch*, did make that alteration, of the reading exhibited by *Laertius*: which probably, that reading I mean, never came to *Plutarch* his knowledge. But see the force of conscience, sometimes, let a man resolve against it never so much. After *Gassendus* had charged *Plutarch* with two such foul crimes, the one, of conforming himself to the opinions of the vulgar, to take away an honest and worthy mans good name, against his own conscience: the other, of adulterating writings, of purpose, that he might have some ground to calumniate: (what could be said more, of the arrantest rogue of the world) yet at last, a sudden qualm takes him; (*Ne Plutarchum accusare videar*) *lest I may be thought to accuse* Plutarch, saith he, and so doth end: whether pricked in his conscience, because he knew he had accused him falsly, as I rather believe: or ashamed of his own inconstancy, that he had commended one so highly, whom afterwards he had charged with the greatest baseness and dishonesty, that can be laid to any mans charge; for either, or for both, let the Reader judge: but a fit man (observe we that, by the way) to make a *Saint*, of a *rogue*; that could make a *rogue* (to serve his turn) of such *an incomparable person*, according to his own testimony, in the beginning of the Chapters. And as he hath dealt with *Plutarch*, in this, just so, in effect, by false glosses and interpretations, doth he deal with *Galen*, in the next Chapter. *Galen*, no *Stoick*, but a true lover of *vertue* and *sound reason*; and upon that score, a mortal enemy of *Epicurus* his phrensies, and leud doctrine: and let me add, one, (and so *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*) who was better able to judge, what was falsly adscribed to *Epicurus*, what

P 4 not;

not; than a hundred such, as *Diogenes Laertius* ever was.

WELL, but was not *Epicurus* however, a valiant man, who in such pains, as he was then in, could write so couragiously, as in this, and in some other Epistles of his, written at the same time, he doth? I answer briefly: It is no wonder at all, that a very wicked man, should die in his wickedness, very resolute and undaunted. There be many examples in all Histories: and some reasons might be given, were it our business here, why it is so. But secondly, we are not bound to believe whatsoever he saith of himself, that he was in such pain, when he wrote those Letters; whom we know to have been a most vain, self conceited wretch, as covetous of praise, as ever man was; so far as may be learned by his own writings. A vanity (such is the force of it in some men) for which men have endured great torments, wilfully; and have undergone strange deaths. I could say more, but this is more than I needed. But I may not omit, that this Letter of *Epicurus* is mentioned by *Seneca* also, more than once: as particularly, *Epist.* 92. which I think *Gassendus* would not have omitted, had he been pleased with *Seneca's* words and judgment about it. For *Seneca* there, as a *Stoick*, arguing that bodily pleasure, or *indolency*, was not a thing considerable at all, to true vertue: *These things may seem incredible*, saith he: *but is it not as much incredible, that any man in extremity of bodily pain, should say*, I am happy. *And yet this very word* (or speech) *hath been heard in the shop or wardrobe* (officina) *of pleasure*. I am at my last and happiest day, *saith* Epicurus, *when on the one side, great difficulty of making of water, on the other, the uncurable dolour of an ulcerated belly, did torment him. How then should these things we have said, seem incredible to them, that apply themselves to the study and practice of vertue; when even among them, who are lead altogether by pleasure, they are found?*

found? Even those degenerate, low (or, *base*) *minded men, cay say, we see, that a wise man in greatest pains, greatest miseries, can be happy. And is not this incredible, yea much more incredible, than any thing we have said of true vertue? But I cannot conceive, how true vertue being once cast down from its true height,* or *eminency*, (of being able, of it self, to make men happy, without the accessories of fortune, bodily pleasure, &c.) *can keep it self from sinking to the very bottom* : (of scorn and contempt) So *Seneca* of *Epicurus*, and his doctrine, in that place. What, elsewhere, somewhat shall be said of that too, by and by.

I HAVE done with my Chapter, and if any be so much at leisure, to follow this example, in all the rest; I durst promise them, if judicious, and diligent, no worse success in all the rest. But it may be, though I chose this, as the most considerable Chapter, yet some will think St. *Gregory Nazianzen* his authority much more considerable, even in this, than *Plutarch's*; whose testimony, and his only, of all the Fathers, or Ecclesiastical writers, as I remember; *Gassendus* doth produce to prove *Epicurus* his innocency, and chast life: *De vita*, &c. *lib*. 7. *cap*. 4. *Quem merito*, saith he, *innumeræ obloquentium turbæ præferendum censeas*. Well, be it so. What saith this godly Father? The summ is: (it is in *Verse*) *that* Epicurus *did maintain pleasure to be the chiefest good of man; but lest he should be understood to speak this of base bodily pleasure* (so *Gassendus* his translation: but the words rather imply; *lest he should be thought to commend pleasure unto others, because of the pleasure himself had taken*; or *because himself had indulged unto pleasure*: which makes a very different sense; for it doth not acquit *Epicurus*, of making bodily pleasure the end or happiness of man; but this only, that himself forbare such pleasures, of purpose, to acquire the more authority to his doctrine) *himself lived* (it is falsly printed, Ἔζα in my book, for Ἔζη) *chastly and soberly, helping his doctrine by his practice*. So *Nazianzen*. And

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this may seem somewhat. But had *Gassendus* dealt ingenuously with his Reader, besides the true sense which he hath concealed; he would have told him, that *Nazianzen* in that piece, and place, doth profess to relate, θρυλλούμενα, *things that were ordinarily reported* of ancient Philosophers, not engaging himself for the truth. He saith indeed, Οὐ γὰρ ἀπιστῶν: that is, *That he would not deny them*, or be *incredulous*; for that *it is possible to find examples of temperance and sobriety, even among Heathens*. That he must be understood *tenderly*, not of perfect belief, doth clearly appear even by the examples which he doth relate. For after *Epicurus*, the next he doth mention, is, *Polemon*, of whom, among other things, he doth relate (from *publick fame*, as all the rest) that a publick whore, being sent for by a young gallant; as she was come to the door, by the sight only of *Polemon's* picture, was turned back. *Nazianzen* doth call it, θαῦμα, *a Wonder*, or *miracle*; which I think we may read, and suspend our belief, without any breach of that respect, which we owe to that holy Father. But *Gassendus* might have told us withal, what the same *Nazianzen*, elsewhere, not in Verse, but in Prose, doth object unto the same *Epicurus*; ἀθεΐαν, *Atheism*: ἀτόμους, his *Atomes*: that is, the denying of a *Providence*: and ἀφιλόσοφον ἡδονήν, the *commendation*, if not *pursuit* (which is more likely) *of a voluptuous life*, (or pleasure) *unworthy the name* (or *profession*) *of a Philosopher*: *Naz. Orat.* 33.

BY this may appear, how *Gassendus* may be trusted, in this cause. Yet we deny not, but *Epicurus*, what ever his life was, hath many fine sayings, which might make *Seneca* to judge, at least, to speak the more favourably of his life; and the rather, because it was, in part, his own case. I have a better opinion of *Seneca*, than to compare him with such a leud man. Yet it cannot be denied,

denied, that he alſo gave too much occaſion to the world to upbraid him, that he did not live, as he ſpake, and taught others. Which troubled him not a little, as may appear by that paſſionate Apology that he makes for himſelf, and all Philoſophers in general, to whom the ſame was objected, in ſome of his books. Yet for all that, though ſome men can diſtinguiſh between doing, and ſaying; who may be more ſcandalized, where they obſerve ſuch contrariety between ſpeeches and actions, than edified; yet generally it hath always been the propriety of the multitude, to be led more by words, than by deeds; by appearance, than reality: which made that grave Hiſtorian, *Polybius*, to pronounce the generality of men, much inferior to bruits, in point of forecaſt and judgment. And to this, we may aſcribe *factions*, and *rebellions*, and *ſchiſms*, and almoſt all the evils, by which the publick peace and tranquillity of either Church or Eſtates is diſturbed, and infeſted. And ſo in *Epicurus* his caſe: *Atque his* (fine ſentences of *Epicurus*, and his Mates) *capiuntur imperiti; & propter hujuſmodi ſententias iſtorum hominum eſt multitudo*: *Cicero*'s true judgment, and obſervation in a place.

NEITHER is it impoſſible, or improbable, that *Epicurus* and others of his company, either by fits, through meer mutability of mind, which is obſerved, of many: or of certain deliberation and purpoſe, after great debauches and ſurfeitings of pleaſures; did betake themſelves to more than ordinary temperance, and frugality, for a-while: not out of any love to *vertue*, which he doth abſolutely deny in his writings, to have any real being, or exiſtence; but that they might return to their *wallowing*, more freſh and vigorous: and (as before ſaid) that they might hold out the longer. So that, as his writings (obſerved by ſome Ancients) were full of contradictions, ſo might *Epicurus* his life be: and

thence proceed that variety of judgments concerning it, which *Gassendus*, but very partially, hath set out. To this purpose *Lactantius* his words *De Div. Inst. lib.* 3. *c.* 17. having first proved the effect of them, by sundry particulars of *Epicurus* his doctrine, are very pertinent: *Hic homo astutus, ex variis diversisq; moribus, circulum colligit, & dum studet placere omnibus, majore discordia secum ipse pugnavit, quam inter se universi*: that is, Epicurus, *being crafty, out of several and different manners*, or *dispositions of men, he did gather unto himself* (the Congregational way, as I take it) *a number*, or *company*; *and whilest he doth endeavour to please all men, he did dissent from himself, no less, or more, than his promiscuous company did from one another.*

Add.

THERE is a Letter of one of his whores, yet extant, which doth set out his abominable leachery, and jealousie withal, even in his old age. What saith *Gassendus* to that? That certainly, if *Laertius* had seen it, he would have said of that also, that it was a counterfeit Letter. So, he takes it for granted, that whatsoever *Laertius* the *Epicuræan*, hath said, or might have said, as he doth surmise, to defend *Epicurus*, must be true: and indeed, deny him that, and all his book doth come to nothing. But to do him no wrong; he saith moreover, that that whore was dead, before *Epicurus* died. What is this to the purpose? Might not she write, as she doth of him, and yet die before him? But she makes *Epicurus* eighty years old when she wrote; and he was not so old, (true, or not, I do not enquire at this time: I need not) when he died. As though it were not ordinary, in such exprobrations of unnatural lust, to make a man somewhat elder, than naturally, and in exactness of computation, he is? But the style of the Letter is affected, and studied. The more likely, to be hers. For she was *Epicurus*, not his whore only, (one of them) but also disciple; and mentioned by others,

others, as a piece of a Philoſopher. Let any man read it: it is a prety long Letter. If he find ſo much affectation in the whole Letter, as may be found in three or four lines of *Epicurus*, acknowledged to be his; I muſt acknowledge, that my judgment in ſuch things, is very ſmall. However, this Letter, though acknowledged for a true Letter, by two learned men, who have written upon *Diogenes Laertius*; yet, were it the worſt thing that can be objected to *Epicurus*, I ſhould not ſpeak of him, with ſo much confidence, as I do; becauſe I do not remember any thing of it in *Cicero*, nor any other Ancient; which to me, is a greater argument to ſuſpect it, than any thing that *Gaſſendus* doth object againſt it. But though I remember nothing of this particular Letter, in any ancient Author; however, he that ſhall read what *Plutarch* (that *incomparable man*, as *Gaſſendus* doth ſtyle him) out of *Epicurus* his own books, doth record of ways deviſed and commended by *Epicurus*, to prolong and maintain luſt and leachery (that is, *happineſs*, in their ſenſe) in old age, when nature is ſpent: he will either believe, this Letter, probably, a true Letter; or that they, that made that ſtrumpet of *Epicurus* as ſhe doth, did *Epicurus* no great wrong. *Plut.* Ὅτι οὐδὲ ζῆν ἐστιν ἡδ. &c. as before: not very far from the beginning: *Edit. Gr. in* 8. *pag.* 2008.

BUT that which, in my judgment, is, beyond all exaggeration of words, wicked and impious, is, that not content to clear *Epicurus* (ſo well as he could) from the imputation of an *Atheiſt*; he doth endeavour to make him a very religious man; yea ſo religious, as I doubt few Chriſtians, were it true, as it is moſt falſe, can be compared unto him. For, ſaith he, ordinary men ſerve God, either for fear, or for a reward, which is *a ſervile worſhip*. But *Epicurus* did not fear

God;

God; that is, believe that God could, or would do him any hurt; nor yet expect any reward at his hands: if therefore he did nevertheless honour, and worship God, meerly for the *excellency of his nature*; (as he would have us to believe) it doth follow, that his service did proceed from *meer filial love and affection*, which is the truest and noblest worship. But before we speak of the *impiety*, let us observe a little, the *absurdity* and *incongruity* of this assertion. Was not *Epicurus* the man, who peremptorily maintained, that a wise man loved no body, but himself; did nothing, but for his own sake, his own profit, and interest? What more frequent than that, in his writings? Insomuch, that he would not allow of any love or friendship, between man and man, but such as was, διὰ τὰς χρείας, as *Laertius* hath it; that is, *such as is grounded upon meer profit and utility.* How probable then, nay possible, that he should love God, for his bare conceited excellency; who professed to love nothing, and so taught others, but for his *profit*? *He that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how should he love God, Whom he hath not seen*? He that could not believe, that God could be so good, as to take any care of men, because men could not do any thing for God, by way of requital: (witness *Lucretius*, that perfect *Epicuræan*, and such an admirer of his doctrine; *Quid enim immortalibus atque beatis, Gratia nostra queat largirier emolumenti, Ut tantum nostra causa gerere aggrediantur*) could he be so good and ingenuous himself, as to honour, love, and serve God for nothing? This therefore was a great over-sight, in a learned man; a great *solœcism*, as I may call it, or *incongruity*. And whereas he doth quote some words of *Seneca*, and is very proud of them, (and well he might, in so uncouth, hidious, and paradoxical an opinion) as though *Seneca* had been of the same opinion; let the whole passage be read,

read, and if the contrary do not appear, that what *Seneca* saith of *Epicurus* his *piety* or *voluntary worship*, he speaks it ironically, in derision both of his God, and his pretended worship; I shall acknowledge my self very much deceived: who not only think so of the place, but am also very confident, that *Gassendus* thought no otherwise of it himself, whatever he was willing his well-affected Reader to the cause should think of it. But, absurdity, be it so or no, I make nothing of that, in comparison of the *impiety*. For besides many pregnant testimonies of the Old Testament, where, among other things, we shall find, that, *that which doth not profit*, is the *periphrasis* of an *Idol*; (and so *Epicurus* his God, not a God, but an Idol upon that account) how shall we excuse St. *Paul*, who every where, almost, layeth it for a ground of his exhortations to Godliness and Piety; that, *Religion is profitable? For therefore we both labour and suffer*, &c. *For as much as you know, that your labour is not in vain*; and, *for the hope that is layed up for you in Heaven*, &c. and, *looking for the blessed hope*, &c. and, *the end of your faith, the salvation of your souls*: and, *for he had a respect unto the recompence of the reward*. And yet more positively: *He that cometh to God, must believe, that he is*; *and that he is a rewarder*, &c. and how Christ himself? *What doth it profit*, &c. *for your reward is great in Heaven*: and the like. And what is it, that the *Deists*, as they call themselves; such *Deists* as *Epicurus* was; who pretend that they believe a God, and that they worship him, not for any fear, or hope of reward, which they exclaim against, as *servile worship*; (witness their wicked *Catechism* in Verse, set out, and refuted by *Mersenius*) but for his *goodness*, (in that he suffers men to live as they will, and do what they will, and takes no notice) and for *the excellency of his nature*: what is it, I say, that they more uphold themselves with,

or

or intice others more effectually by, than this wicked and abominable; but, to weak carnal men, very plausible plea and pretence?

Add. THAT *Gassendus* himself was an Atheist, really, I would be loath to say; I hope not. He hath written against some of *Epicurus* his opinions. But in discharge of my duty to God, and religion, I shall say, and my conscience doth oblige me; that had he had the advice of all the Atheists that ever were: had he advised with Hell it self, he could not have lighted upon a more destructive way, to all religion and piety; to all goodness and vertue, than this, of *Epicurus* his *filial fear*, or *love of God.* For what inference will carnal men, (in such an age, as this, especially) will, or can make of it, but this? that they may *believe*, as *Epicurus* believed; *no God*, I will not say, (though it be true enough) but, *no providence, no conscience, no difference of good or evil,* (in nature) *of what is just, or what is not*: I might add, and live as *Epicurus* lived; but I will only say, *believe as* Epicurus *believed*; and yet flatter and comfort themselves, that they are *religious*, nay more *religious* than many, nay most Christians, accounted religious, are? Was there ever a more wicked and pernicious device? The Reader will excuse me, *if in all this discourse* I have dealt with *Gassendus* somewhat roundly, more than I would have done with a man of his learning, and whom I believe to have been a civil man; besides a particular respect I have to him, for laying open the vanity and falsity of *Des Cartes*, and his Philosophy, some part of it at least: which I think was a very good work, and may prove very useful, when once that malignant humor of innovating, which doth now so greatly prevail, will wax more cold and remiss. I wish he had not had so much of that ὑπέρτερπνον ἐπιθυμίαν, in him, as *Galen* calls it, τοῦ δόξαν ἔχειν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, which I believe was the chief thing,

that

that did put him upon this *Unchristian project*, of magnifying *Epicurus*. Wherein, how much he went against his conscience, we need not appeal to God, who is the only καρδιογνώστης: any man may quickly find it by his book, who shall but look into it: any man I say, that hath not, according to the current of the times, more affection for *Epicurus*, than the truth. But what if any man shall reply for *Gassendus*, that all this may be, and yet *Gassendus* not so much in fault; who doth in the same book openly profess, that whatsoever he had said, or should say for *Epicurus*, was but, *Exercitationis gratia? Absit alia mente id præstem, quam exercitationis gratia*: his own words: that is; *God forbid I should do it to any other intention, but by way of exercise, or exercitation only.* And why not as free for him, to praise *Epicurus*, as others have done the *quartan Ague*, *the Gout*, *an Asse*, *a Louse*, and that Monster of men, as described by *Homer*, *Thersytes*? Had he rested there, it had been better and more justifiable. Upon the same grounds, for ought I know, a man (though I should not commend it) might write the praises of the *Devil*. For many things might be spoken, of the *excellency of his nature*, as he is a Spirit, a good Spirit, by his first creation: then, his improvement, by his experience, since that time: his wonderful feats and projects, from time to time, to bring himself into credit among men: and if a man would say, that out of his love to men, he tempted our first Parents, that he might be the occasion of a further good unto them, in Christ, and by Christ; and therefore to be honoured, and worshipped by men: were it but for the conceit, (and in very deed, somewhat I think to that purpose hath been said by some ancient Hereticks) and novelty of the opinion, there would be some, I make no question, but would embrace it. But *Gassendus* goes

on, and when he comes to that, as indeed he was bound, or he had had no thanks; that he did it *bona fide*, though *ready to recant, when better informed*; yet, this *bona fide* doth ſpoil all. But whatever himſelf thought, or knew; what amends can he make to ſuch, who (ſome, *good Chriſtians*, I make no queſtion, and *learned* enough, perchance, to have found out his jugling, had they but ſuſpected him) upon his credit, without any farther diſquiſition, have eſpouſed his cauſe, and think it no diſparagement to Chriſtianity, (if Chriſtians indeed) to ſpeak with honour, and reſpect of that monſter of men, and ſpiteful enemy of God, and all Godlineſs.

I HAVE been ſomewhat long upon this ſubject of *Epicurus*: ſomewhat longer perchance, than ſome would have wiſhed. But I ſhall not apologize. I have not forgotten that *Credulity and Incredulity, in Civil affairs*, which doth include the judgments, as well as actions of men, is my ſubject. And truly, of all things of that nature this age hath produced; this of *Epicurus* ſeems to me, and I believe to many others, the moſt prodigious, and *incredible*. Not, that any one man, for ſome particular end, or meerly to ſhew his wit, (which I know hath been done by more than one) ſhould attempt ſuch a thing: but that ſo many, profeſſing Chriſtianity, ſhould entertain the attempt with ſo ready an aſſent, and applauſe: an argument to me, with many others, of the inclination of the age. God avert the event.

SINCE this written, I bethought my ſelf, that *Gaſſendus* happily, in thoſe large Comments and *Animadverſions* upon *Epicurus* his *Philoſophy*, (if we may ſo call it, which deſerveth better to be called, *dotage and madneſs*) ſet out ſome years after, in three *Tomes*; might retract ſome of thoſe notorious *miſtakes*, if any man can think them ſo. I have ſearched, but I find, that inſtead

of

of *retracting*, he doth *repeat*, and endeavour to confirm: and that, especially, by the addition of two testimonies, which I shall take notice of. The first of St. *Jeromes*, out of his second book against *Jovinian*, *Chap.* 8. where he doth say, with this Preface, *Quod mirandum sit*, a *thing to be wondred at*, because *assertor voluptatis*; an *assertor*, or *patron of pleasure*, (*bodily*, certainly, else it had been no wonder) *that* Epicurus *did fill his books with the commendations of a spare diet*. That *Epicurus* did it, all the wonder is, that the man should be so inconstant to himself, if in so doing, he doth make any mention of vertue, or seems to have any regard unto it, it being sure enough, that in this, he doth but abuse the credulity of his Readers. But if he commend a sober life in general, and highly extol it, before a riotous and leud: this he might well enough, without any repugnancy to his doctrine, in placing the happiness of man, in bodily pleasures. Though the practice of it, a rare thing, in men of that profession; yet the commendation of it, might as well become a professed *Epicuraan*, as any other. Besides, it should be considered, that St. *Jerome* his purpose, there, being to collect out of all profane Authors, whatsoever he had read in any of them, tending to the commendation of a spare diet; which he doth very copiously, as a very learned man, and excellently versed in all ancient Authors; any man may see, that he doth relate many things, as in such a case is ordinary; which it is not probable, that he believed, or did expect his Readers should, (I could instance in many particulars) but only to serve his present subject, upon a supposition neverthelesse, that many things, though not so probable, yet might be true; the truth whereof he doth not stand to examine, which every Reader, as he should find himself concerned, might do, better at leisure. Not therefore to add any credit to *Epicurus*, but more forci-

bly to shame them, that lived riotously, or discommend a spare diet, or spake slightly of it; is that passage of *Epicurus* produced by St. *Jerome*. And let me add, that *Gassendus* doth make that quotation, by adding some of St. *Jerome's* words to it, as may easily appear, somewhat longer, than in it self it is, or can well be: but I make no great matter of it.

HIS other long quotation, is out of *Porphyrius* his excellent book (περὶ ἀποχῆς) of *abstinence*, &c. *Porphyrius*, a Magician, it is well known; and as great an enemy to Christianity, as ever it had any: yet *Porphyrius*, of *abstinence*, &c. an excellent book, as I think ever was written of that argument. I wish we had the old translation of it more common, than it is; out of which many corrupt places in the Author, might be corrected, at least, understood. Well, *Porphyrius* in that book, just as St. *Jerome* upon the same occasion, and to the same purpose: A wonder, saith he, *that even they that make pleasure to be the end, the* Epicuræans; *even they*, &c. It is a long passage, and it will appear, if well examined, that here also *Gassendus* doth ascribe somewhat to the *Epicuræans*, which doth in *Porphyrius* his Text, belong unto them. And which is worse, so unlucky shall I say, or so bold, is *Gassendus*, (such confidence he had in himself, when he saw how currently every thing did pass, that he had written in that wicked cause) that he doth deprave as excellent a passage, in the Text of that long quotation, as any is extant in any Heathen writer; I will not say, because it hath too much Christianity; nor yet can I say, because it is very obscure; but truly, (as he doth in *Epicurus* his life, many) through unadvised rashness, and temerity. The Author there doth say, very piously, if sincerely, whoever he was, that we should not *first provide for the World*, (and he gives an excellent reason for it, afterwards) *and then*

make

make Philosophy, (προσθήκην the very word used by Christ, upon the same occasion, if the Greek be authentick, προστεθήσεται) *an addition*, or an *accessory* : (according to that of the Poet : *O Cives, Cives, quærenda pecunia primo est ; Virtus post nummos*) *but first provide* (by good instruction, I suppose, and Philosophy) *for a generous confidence*, (in God) *and then content our selves with what every day doth afford.* This, *Gassendus*, by correcting (or corrupting rather) the ἀλλὰ (which is in the Gospel also, or the effect of it : well expressed in the English : *But seek ye first*, &c.) into ἅμα, turns it quite into another sense. I shall not proceed to any further examination. But if any body will make it his business, he will, without much trouble, find matter enough.

CIVIL affairs and actions, the proper object of *Credulity* and *Incredulity*, which we propose to our selves in this *Part*, come to be known to us, either by our own experience, or by the relation of others ; private, as Friends and Travellers, or publick, as the Historians of present, or past ages. Our aim is, by some instances and *observations*, (it is an ordinary thing for men to forget their *Text* ; this often repetition, may help to prevent it) to direct them that may want such help, in point of *Credulity* and *Incredulity*. Wherein, our first *observation*, for a caution to some, how they take upon them to judge, before they be throughly versed in the world, shall be that old saying with little alteration, appliable to many occasions : *Homine imperito nunquam quicquam injustius : Qui nisi quod ipse fecit, nihil rectum putat* : we say, *Qui nisi quod ipse credit* (or *vidit*, if you will) *nihil verum putat*. It is a sad thing, to converse with men, who neither by their own experience, nor by the relation of others, Historians and Travellers, are acquainted with the world. How they will stare, and startle at

things, as *impossible* and *incredible*, which they that are better acquainted with it, know to be very true, or judge, by what they have known in like cases, to be very *possible* and *credible*. It were great wisdom in such, who are so happy as to know their defects, though they suspend their belief, yet to be very wary, how they contradict, or oppose; and as much wisdom in men, that are better acquainted with the world, when they meet with such, to be very sparing of their stories, which have any thing of strangeness; nor yet to be very peremptory, or forward to contest, lest that, besides the offence, that unseasonable pertinaciousness may give, they wrong their own reputation, and be accounted lyars, or wonder-mongers, though unjustly. Others there be, who because they have seen *somewhat* themselves, or are not altogether unacquainted with Histories, or the travels of others; ground upon that *somewhat*, so much, that they will not believe, or acknowledge to be true, whatsoever is beyond their knowledge, or hear-say: when God knows, a man had need to be almost as old as the Devil, before he can take upon him to know, or peremptorily to determine, what the world doth afford. Though not born, yet I have lived a long time in *England*, a very small portion of the world, for extent of ground: sometimes in one place, sometimes (but necessitated partly by the late troubles) in another: always studious to observe, or to learn from others, what every place afforded, worthy the knowledge; besides what might be learned by printed books, without much pains. Yet to this day, I think my self but a stranger in it, daily meeting with many things, that I never heard of before. But I have often admired at the confidence of some Travellers, who if they have been but six moneths abroad, (it may be, less) say *France*, or *Italy*, they think and talk of it, as though they knew it

as

as perfectly, as the Country, or Parish, where they were born, and bred a great part of their life. Nay, some be so simple and ignorant, that whatsoever they have observed in an Inne, or single house, as they passed by; they will tell you confidently, that so and so, such is the fashion in *France* or *Italy*; when it may be, that they that have lived in either Country all their lives long, never met or heard of any such thing. Doth not every Country, as *England* particularly, consist of several Shires and Provinces or *Counties*; and hath not every *County*, their particular rites and customs, not only different, but even contrary? He therefore that shall ascribe the particular customs of any one *County*, as *Yorkshire*, or *Devonshire*, to *England* in general; doth he not expose himself to the just censure and indignation of those, that shall believe him, when they shall come to know their error, and make themselves ridiculous to others, that have better knowledge of the Countrie? Hence proceed variety of reports and relations, even in printed books, which may be true perchance, of such a place, at such a time, particularly; but generally, for want of wit and more experience, delivered, are most false, and happily, ridiculous. In a great fight, ordinarily, men think their relations very creditable, that can say, if honest civil men; they were at it. Whereas it is very possible, (and I have known such a thing, in my time more than once) that one man, of the same fight shall report a flight, and the other (both, present and actors) a victory, and both truly enough; but not so wisely, because what they have seen in one part of the Army, they rashly, or ignorantly apply unto the whole: and perchance call that a *victory*, (so, for the time, perchance) which before the day be over, may be the occasion of a *total rout*. It is the observation of learned *Cambden*: *Ita in pugnarum ratione, qui rebus gerendis adfuerunt*,

fuerunt, &c. Englished by Bishop *Carleton*: *Thus it is in Battel, they who are present, and actors, report not always the same thing, each reporting what himself observed.* This is very appliable to the relations of Travellers, concerning the same places, or Countries. A man therefore had need to consider well, (if truth be his end, and aim) whom he doth believe in such things, or how he speaks himself, upon the credit of others; honest men, perchance, and such as have no intention to deceive; but, of what judgment, what experience, yea, and moderation; that also must be taken into consideration, or we may miss our end. I add *moderation*, because some men, naturally *passionate*, are so swayed by their interest, whether of profit or meer affection; that they think they speak truth sometimes, when they speak that, which to others, of the same judgment, as to the cause, but without *passion*; doth appear notoriously false. These things observed, many seeming contradictions in Histories may be reconciled, and we the better prepared, when we read or hear strange things, to judge and discern, what, upon grounds of probability, we may believe, and what not. I rather say so, than what *credible* or *incredible*: because (as in the *First Part* hath been declared) I allow not of many things, besides what is against the faith, as absolutely *incredible*, because what is really *impossible*, is beyond our skill, absolutely to determine.

WHAT may be required of an Historian, in general, to deserve credit, many have treated of it. Of late writers, among others, that offer now themselves to my remembrance; *Bodinus* in his *Methodus Historiæ*, (a book well deserving to be read) and by *Melchior Canus*, sufficiently known, in his *Common Places*, are two. But I have nothing to do with History, or Historians here in general, but only as they

they relate ſtrange things, which in their own nature may be thought, by ſome, *incredible*. Of which nature, every man knows, *Herodotus*, the Greek Hiſtorian, (ſo much admired, for the ſweetneſs of his ſtyle, and the ancienteſt Hiſtorian now extant) in the judgment of many, to be. Inſomuch, that of all Hiſtorians, whereof any account is made, he hath got the name, of a fabulous writer. Indeed, he had not the luck to write of things of his own time, or Country, for the moſt part, as *Thucydides* did: except it be, in the laſt books: and what is worſe, not of things, which many others, now extant, have written of: ſo that moſt things muſt be believed, upon his credit, if we ſee cauſe; or may be rejected, as fabulous, or *incredible*, if we think fit, becauſe not confirmed by any other. But they do him great wrong, that aſcribe all that he tells of that nature, generally accounted fabulous, or *incredible*, as though he were the Author, or inventer of ſuch things; or did deliver them unto us, for things which himſelf believed, or did expect that others ſhould. For, for the firſt, there is no probability, that he, who to ſatisfie himſelf of the truth of thoſe things, which he had heard, would take ſuch pains, to travel into *Ægypt*, yea all *Ægypt*, in perſon, with ſo much diligence, as himſelf tells us in many places; and not *Ægypt* only, but ſome other more remote places, as *Syria*, *Paleſtina*, and the like, would make ſo bad uſe of his travels, (though ſome have done it, I muſt confeſs, *Thovetus*, of late, for one) as to abuſe his Readers with ſtories of his own deviſing, when his own travels could furniſh him with ſuch admirable relations, whereof no queſtion could be then made, or now can, rationally; whereof more afterwards. And that he did not deliver moſt of thoſe other ſtrange things, as things that he did himſelf, or would have others, abſolutely to believe;

himſelf

himself doth profess so often, and sometimes doth openly testifie his own disbelief, that none can lay that to his charge, but they, that have not read him. Now, if St. *Jerome* was in the right, when he determined, (more than once, if *Melchior Canus*, doth him no wrong) that, *Lex vera historiæ est*, &c. *One Law of a true Historian, is, to write those things that are generally believed, though not really true*: in this *Herodotus* hath not offended, as, in those very words almost, or equivalent, he doth express himself: so that St. *Jerome* (whether in the wrong or right) may not improbably be thought, to have taken it out of *Herodotus*. In matters of *Oracles* and *Predictions*, I must confess, he is very copious; so that they, who do not know what the condition of those times was, may think many of his relations, more like the dreams and fancies of some doting old women, than the reports of a sober Historian. But those were the *Enthusiastick* times, as *Plutarch*, and others call them; when not only publick States, but even private persons, sensible of any religion, in all actions almost, of any consequence, were governed by *Oracles* and *Divinations*, more, than by any humane judgment or direction: which though subject to much imposture, whereof *Herodotus* doth give divers instances; yet, generally, thought and approved so beneficial, that the most grave and sober, as *Plutarch* for one, long after that humor of men (or *power of darkness*, shall I say) was well over, did acknowledge, that the State of *Greece* was much advanced, or advantaged by them: as elsewhere hath been more particularly declared.

NOW, before I come to any particular instances of his strange, and generally accounted fabulous relations; I must not conceal, that a very learned man, by whose labours the common-weal of learning hath been benefited as much, as by any's, that I know, hath written a

book,

book, entituled, *Apologie, pour Herodote*: to prove, that no actions of men, mentioned by *Herodotus*, are so strange and *incredible*; but have been equalled, if not exceeded, by some of later times. But it doth appear too plain, that under this title, his only aim was, to inveigh against some men, who indeed have given too much occasion, it cannot be denied; but, against them, whether more, or less deserving it; not, to justifie or vindicate *Herodotus*, which the accumulation of so many strange tales, whereof a great part grounded upon bare report, he knew, well enough, could not do. Some other title therefore, might have become that book better; or indeed that book, another man better, than him, that had been the Author of so many noble and serious atchievements, for the benefit of learning. Now before I look upon *Herodotus* as the most considerable Historian we have, (both for his antiquity, and for that conformity of sundry relations and customs, with those of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, observed by some, in part, but in part only, that I know of) I will take some of his strangest stories into consideration; for the truth whereof, after such a revolution of ages, though I cannot, no rational man will expect, that I should undertake: yet if we obtain so much, that they are not *incredible*; it may not only dispose many to think better of that Noble Historian, than they have done; but also make them more wary, how they pass their judgments hereafter, in the like cases.

ONE of the first strange relations in *Herodotus*, (himself calls it a *miracle*) is the story of *Anion*, the Musician, his deliverance; who, when forced by covetous Mariners, to cast himself into the Sea, was saved by a *Dolphin*, who, delighted with his musick, offered himself, and carried him upon his back, to land. Few Children, I think, but have heard of it, at some time or

other;

other; but not many men, that think of it otherwise, than of a meer fable. Which if granted, yet *Herodotus* is in no fault, who tells us, without interposing of his own judgment, what was then said, when he lived, and averred for truth, by the people of two several Towns, *Corinthus* and *Lesbos*. Had he omitted it, he had been too blame certainly; and, since *Herodotus*, no Chronologer, (I think, or few) have omitted it. Neither was it then a relation of the old times, as we may say, and out of memory; such, as without good attestation of some, that lived at the same time, or shortly after, may rationally be suspected, even for the antiquity: but, as yet, of fresh memory, when *Herodotus* lived: 100. or say 200. years, because Chronologers do not precisely agree in their computation, was the utmost interval of time. But what ever any other may think of it, there is so much to be said, if not for the truth, yet probability of it; that I must suspect their *ignorance*, or condemn their *incredulity*, that peremptorily censure it as fabulous. But, this I mean, of the substance of the story, that such a man, *Arion*, a *Musician*, was • saved by a *Dolphin*, who carried him upon his back to land. Besides others, that are not so well attested; *Pliny* the elder, in his *Natural History*, hath two stories; the one of *Augustus* his time, (not far from his own, who wrote in *Vespasian* the Father, his reign) of a School-boy, who grew so familiar with a Dolphin, and the Dolphin so much at his command, that no Horse can be more to any Master by Land, than he was to this Boy, by Sea; and this for many years, in the sight of all the Country; which makes the matter indubitable. At last, it so fell out, that the Boy fell sick, and died. After which the *Dolphin* also, after he had several times shewed himself about the shore, as he was wont, and no Boy appeared; he also for very grief, as all men thought, died, and was no more seen. *Pliny* doth name three eminent men,

men, who had written the ſtory at large, in *Auguſtus* his time, when the thing hapned. And beſides them, *Appion*, or *Apion* rather, ſirnamed *Grammaticus*, (but I know not why, except we take the word in a very general ſenſe: for he dealeth altogether in *Hiſtory*, for which he got the name of *Polyhiſtor*, alſo) who alſo lived about the ſame time, or ſoon after, under *Tiberius*, did write it: whoſe teſtimony, beſides ſome others to the ſame purpoſe; and very words, are to be found in *Aulus Gellius*; who alſo hath the relation of *Arion*, out of *Herodotus*, at large. Where perchance ſome body, not much verſed in the Latin tongue; as once by ſome ignorant Monks, learned *Eraſmus* was charged, he had turned the Goſpel into a *fable*, for uſing the word *fabula*, or *confabulari* in his tranſlation; may ſtumble at the word *fabula*, which by beſt Latin Authors, is often uſed for *a true ſtory*. I think it will be granted, no man can reaſonably doubt of a thing, ſo very well atteſted: But if any do, *Pliny*, his ſecond ſtory, if he be not ſet upon contradiction, will certainly ſatisfie him. For I think, next to ocular evidence, nothing can be more certain. It is a ſtory of his own time, (*intra hos annos*) of another Boy, in *Africo littore*, *Hipponis Diarryti*: (for there was two *Hippo's*, in *Africa*: *Hippo Regius*, or *Regia*; which St. *Auguſtin* was Biſhop of; and *Hippo Paluſtris*, or Διάῤῥυτος, as *Pliny* himſelf, elſewhere, doth teach) who uſing to ſwim with others in the Lake, or *æſtuarium*, ſubject to Tydes, and very convenient for that purpoſe; a *Dolphin*, after ſome wooing by careſſes and geſticulations, ſuch as nature afforded him; got his good opinion & will; ſo that he durſt venture himſelf upon his back, in the Lake; & out of the Lake, into the main; & out of it, back again, as far as the ſhore, yea, and beyond the ſhore. For, as if they had ſtrived, who ſhould ſhew

more

more confidence, the *Dolphin* would follow his beloved, even to the land, and suffer himself to be touched, and caressed, by others also, men and boys, that had the confidence; so long as he was able, which was not long, to subsist upon dry land. And this lasted not days or moneths only, but years: one year, at least, as I gather, though not expressed, by the tenor of the story. Insomuch, as the noise of this miracle (as generally apprehended) being spread far and near; there was daily a great concourse of all kind of people, from all places. The Governor of the place under *the Romans*, moved, or struck with a kind of religious horror, at the sight; and among so many Gods, they worshipped in those days, apprehending, probably, some kind of Deity in that Dolphin, attempted to do him divine honour, according to the religion then in use, by pouring some kind of odoriferous confection, or ointment upon him; which the poor Dolphin annoyed with the scent, and otherwise too, probably: (*Sopitus*, *Pliny* saith, if he do not mean it metaphorically) resented as an injury, or affront, and absented himself, *per aliquot menses*, saith *Pliny*. But at last, appeared again, and by degrees, became as loving, and familiar, as before. This lasted till the inhabitants round about, to whom the *miracle* was now no *miracle*, by reason of its frequency; overcharged with the frequency of guests, which flocked thither from all parts, to be spectators of this strange sight, to them that had never seen it before; cruelly, but secretly, conspired against him, and (what will not men do, to save their money) killed him. I have this from *Pliny*, the elder, the Author of the *Natural History*: but confirmed and enlarged with sundry particulars, by *Pliny* the Second, (*Epist. lib. 9. ep.* 33.) who makes no mention at all of his Uncle, but had it from others, of whose fidelity, in the relation, he bids

us,

us, as he was himself, to be confident. And indeed, what we may believe, besides what we have seen, with our own eyes; if we believe not this, I do not know. *Pausanias*, who lived under *Marcus Aurelius*, the *Roman* Emperor, and hath written that excellent book, of the Monuments and Antiquities of *Greece*, remaining in his time; doth profess, that himself saw a Dolphin, in *Peroseline*, (the true name was *Pordoseline*: but, for modesty sake, made *Peroseline*) a little Island by *Lesbos*; who for some kindness he had received of a boy, did wait upon him, so far as by nature possible, and would carry him upon his back, whither soever the boy did direct him. *Aelianus*, who lived a little before, writeth of another, that was bred and brought up (as a Fish could be) by a poor woman, with her son; whom afterwards he loved entirely, and rewarded both him, carrying him upon his back, whither he would, and his Nurse, the mother, plentifully, by his services, when he was bigger. He also names the same Island, but that he names it *Pleroseline*: whether he intended it of the same Dolphin, I know not. It is very possible the same thing might be acted, by more than one Dolphin, in more than one place; one Dolphin taking example of another. And I remember, in that accurate relation of *Pliny* the Second; it is observed, that with that miraculous Dolphin, the subject of the story; always another accompanied, who certainly was pleased with the sight; but accompanied only, and did no more, durst not perchance, fearing the others jealousie. To these that offered themselves unto me, more like stories, of other ages and places, might be added, I make no question: but the two first are very sufficient, in my judgment, to ground a confidence of the truth, without seeking any further.

NOW, because it is my business here, to help such as may

may want help, in ſuch diſquiſitions; it will be worth our hearing, what is objected by ſome, againſt the truth of this ſtory. Which yet to make more probable, before I come to objections, I muſt not omit, beſides what was before intimated, that all, or moſt Chronologers, both ancient and late, whom I have ſeen; among others, St. *Jerome*, out of *Euſebius*, take notice of it, without any oppoſition to the truth of it: that the memory of it, as of a true ſtory, was preſerved by a braſs Statue; by a temple; and by an inſcription noting the time, or *Olympiad*; and that in *Ælianus*, beſides the Epigram or Inſcription of the Statue, we have a fine *Hymn*, ſaid to be compoſed by *Arion* himſelf, as a monument of his miraculous deliverance, and thankfulneſs to God, for it: all this beſides inſtances of the like.

BUT what ſaith learned *Natalis Comes*, in his *Mythology*, to this of *Arion*? *Quæ quod fabuloſa ſint, nemini obſcurum eſt: That all is fabulous, all men*, he thinks, *muſt believe.* Why ſo? *Nam quæ de Delphinis dixerunt antiqui*, &c. that is, *For what ſome Ancients have written of ſome Dolphins, as if ſome men had been ſaved by them, I accounted it meer dreams. For the nature of animals (or beaſts) is always the ſame; and from that time to this, though the number of men, that have periſhed in the Seas, is infinite; we do not hear of any, that have been preſerved by Dolphins.* Here is firſt a great and groſs miſtake, (it would be ſo in a Philoſopher) in the word *nature* or *natural.* It is *natural* to men to ſpeak, to read, to write, to learn arts, *&c.* that is, Men are naturally capable of ſuch things, if they be taught: for without ſome teaching, none of theſe things will be learned; not ſo much as ſpeaking, though it be done unſenſibly, as it were; yet not learned without long ſtudy. And though ſome other creatures, as *Parrots*, and the like, may ſeem capable of that, and not men only;

ly; yet their ſpeaking, is not a true ſpeaking, becauſe it doth not proceed from any λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, or *inward reaſoning*, which doth engender outward ſpeech. Some things men are naturally capable of, as men; as the Sciences, which yet ſome men can never attain unto, though they be taught, by reaſon of ſome accidental defect. But for more clearneſs, becauſe it is to our purpoſe, to inſtance in ſomewhat that hath more affinity: There is no man, I think, where Dogs are, but are acquainted, more or leſs, with their nature, and conditions. Of all creatures, generally, they love and know their maſters beſt: this is common to them all, more or leſs, to be loving naturally. But what if I ſhould tell a ſtory of one, or more Dogs, that loved their maſters ſo well, that they would needs die with them? Would it be a good argument, that it muſt be a fable, becauſe all Dogs do it not? *Lipſius* hath one, of a Dog of his own houſe, that loved his miſtreſs ſo well, that when ſhe died, and he ſaw her dead, run into the Garden, digged himſelf a hole, and there ended, ſoon after, his life: *Hac, tota familia noſtra teſte, ſunt geſta.* He doth appeal to all his family, who were preſent, and ſaw it, for the truth of it. *Scaliger* hath another in his *Exercitations* againſt *Cardan*, every whit as ſtrange. What if I ſhould tell of Dogs, that have purſued the murderers of their Maſters, ſo conſtantly, ſo vigorouſly, that notice being taken publickly, it came at laſt, by order of juſtice, to a duel, or combat, wherein the murderers being overcome by the Dogs, they confeſſed the crime? We have the ſtory of one in *Scaliger*; and out of *Scaliger*; in *Lipſius*: the Hiſtory of another, out of St. *Ambroſe*, *Giraldus Cambrenſis* in his *Itinerary*, doth tranſcribe. So he profeſſeth. But if faithfully, then the Editions we have of St. *Ambroſe*, (that which I have not at this time, I am ſure) are defective. For the

latter part, (of the Duel) is there wanting. And indeed the story seems to me but imperfect, as it ends there: no sense, I think, can be made of the words, to bring the relation to an end; without which it is not probable that St. *Ambrose* would have left it. But, if for, *persecutus*, as printed in my *Ambrose*, set out by *Erasmus* at *Bazil, Anno Dom.* 1567. we read it, as I find it in an old Manuscript I have, *perpessus*; some end may be made of it, though not so full, or so clear, as in *Giraldus*. I wish I were in better case, were it but for St. *Ambrose*'s sake, to look into it. For I shrewdly suspect, because I have known it done in many books, long ago; that some, who were scandalized at the story, as absurd, or impossible; (as many things, through meer ignorance, to the prejudice of truth, are often suspected) did cut off St. *Ambrose* his relation, with those words of their own devising, *Itaque quod erat difficilius, ultionem persecutus est*, (so printed, but *perpessus*, certainly, as in my Manuscript, to make any sense of it) *quia defensionem præstare non potuit*: which words are not in *Giraldus*. I hope, (if not already done, though unknown to me) some body will take the pains, who is better able than I am, at this time, or ever like to be.

HOW many more strange things, from good Authors, or certain experience, even of our times, might be added; which if a man should deny, because all Dogs do not so, or not one of a thousand, or a million, or scarce one in an age; how ridiculous were it? I remember when I lived in *Sussex*, I heard of one Dog there; of another, when in *Sommerset*, but in another kind, from persons of credit: I make no question of the truth: which nevertheless I might live fifty years longer, and not hear the like. Great pity it is, that no memory is kept of such rare accidents, whereof, besides the improvement

provement of the knowledge of nature, good uſe might be made upon ſeveral occaſions. Did we underſtand the nature of *Dolphins* perfectly; we might give a reaſon, probably, how ſome come to do ſo, and ſo, ſometimes; and how ſutable it is to their nature; and yet how, through the defect of ſome one circumſtance, or more, in themſelves, or the party they would pitch upon; or ſome circumſtance of time, they come to do it no oftner, though much oftner, I believe, than is generally known; or, for want of good records, remembred. But upon Boys, all ſtories do agree, that they commonly pitch upon ſuch; and that they are (ſome of the kind at leaſt) great lovers of muſick. Which doth make well for *Arion*'s caſe.

THIS objection therefore, that it is not natural to Dolphins, becauſe all Dolphins do it not, or that we read of very few, who have done, or reported to have done the like, rejected as invalid and weak; in *Arion's* caſe, I ſhould rather object, how a Boy or Man could ſit a Dolphin, I will not ſay, playing upon an inſtrument: (for there is no need of that) but ſit him, or ride him for a conſiderable time, through ſo many waves, and not be waſhed off, or drowned. To me, it doth ſeem very ſtrange, to another, it may be, not ſo much. But if we ſuppoſe the Sea, as ſome Seas are known to be, ordinarily; or at ſome times of the year, very ſtill and calm; then there's no further queſtion, as to this. And indeed *Pliny* tells us of one of theſe *Dolphin-riders*, who being ſurpriſed by a tempeſt, was drowned: which the *Dolphin* (but I warrant it no further, to the Reader, than he ſhall like his authority) apprehending himſelf the cauſe of, did end his life upon the Land, for grief. Another queſtion would be, how a Boy can ſit a Dolphin without danger; and whether a Dolphin be naturally ſhaped for that uſe. *Pliny* indeed

doth expreſs, in the relation of his firſt ſtory, that the Dolphin had the providence, *pinnæ aculeos velut vagina condere*; and *Apion* writing of the ſame, τὰς ἀκάνθας πε-ϛέλλειν: and *Ælianus* tells the ſtory of another ſuch Boy, who riding a Dolphin, did unadviſedly run his belly againſt the thorns, or prickles of his back-fin, whereof he died, and the Dolphin after him, for grief. Had I ever ſeen a Dolphin, I could judge better; or had I, at this time, either *Geſnerus*, or *Rondeletius*; or could any where, ſo far from all Libraries, that I can call Libraries, but mine own, (and that a ſorrowful one too, at this time: a remnant of a Library, rather than Library) come to the ſight of either. I have the pictures of Dolphins, in ſome books: but they do not ſatisfie me.

I FIND in the books of a very learned man, which I have, out of *Rondeletius*, that *a Dolphin hath no prickles in his back*; who thereupon doth infer, that therefore *Apion* did impoſe, and might as well, in the whole ſtory, as in that particular. But that is ſomewhat a hard judgment, by his favour. I believe *Rondeletius*, that they have none, ordinarily. But as the Camels of ſome Countries, differ from the Camels of others, by the number of their bunches, as *Pliny*, and ſome others tell us; and ſo many other creatures, of one Climat, or Country, or of different perchance, but of one kind, by ſome notable difference; ſome have horns, ſome not, and the like: why may not we believe, as poſſible, at leaſt, that there may be a kind of Dolphins, more rare, and ſeldom ſeen, who have ſuch prickles? Poſſible alſo, that thoſe, (that kind, I mean) are the Dolphins, moſt ſubject to this kind of love. Not, that I would have any body to ground any truth, upon bare conjectures: but becauſe I think ſuch objections, againſt certain experience, to be of little validity.

Neither

Neither is *Apion* the man, that we truſt too: I know what the judgment of many Ancients was of him. Yet, though *Apion* might make bold in his relations concerning *Ægypt*, and other remoter places; it is hard to believe, that *Apion*, who was well known to *Tiberius*, *Auguſtus* his immediate ſucceſſor, durſt write a ſtory of *Auguſtus* his time, for a truth, (whereof, if a truth indeed, many thouſands muſt have been witneſſes) which was fabulous, and either invented by himſelf, or lightly believed by him, upon the report of ſome idle people. Add, that *Auguſtus* his time, was not a time of ignorance, ſuch as have been ſeen before, and ſince him: but a time, *Cum humana ingenia ad ſummam ſolertiam perducta eſſent*, as *Seneca*, I think, doth ſome where ſpeak, of thoſe times: *When humane wit, and ratiocination was come to its height*, ſuch a height, both for *Poets*, and *Orators*, and *Artiſts*, I am ſure, as hath not been known ſince. Which is the credit of *Chriſtianiſm*, that it prevailed at ſuch a time; not as *Mahometiſm*, in times and places of greateſt darkneſs and ignorance, and is ſtill maintained with the ſame, and the power of arms. What the ignorance, and want of good learning, that theſe times do threaten, may bring, God knows. However, though *Apion* had never written concerning that Dolphin, in *Auguſtus* his time, divers others did, men of credit, whoſe books were extant in *Pliny*'s time: and had that Dolphin never been, yet that other in *Pliny*'s time, ſo atteſted by him, and by his Nephew, that other *Pliny*; a man of ſuch learning, ſuch authority, and dignity, as he was, (yea and integrity, abundantly approved to Chriſtians, by that relation he made, of the Chriſtians of his time) had been enough with me, with the conſideration of all

circumſtances, which he doth relate at large, had been enough with me, I ſay, to make me believe it as certainly, as if I had ſeen it with mine eyes. No reaſon therefore, that any queſtion ſhould be made of the truth of a ſtory ſo well atteſted, becauſe of that one circumſtance of the *prickles*, on Dolphins backs, in caſe it be a miſtake. Which yet perhaps, if a miſtake, may prove the miſtake of *Rondeletius*, and not of *Apion*. For *Solinus*, where he writes of Dolphins, doth atteſt, that thoſe prickles do not appear, but when they do, through anger, or ſome other extraordinary occaſion, *inhorreſcere*, and that at other times they are hid.

BUT after all this, *Lipſius* his *caveat*, who was no very ſuperſtitious man, it is well known, though being ſet upon it by others, he did write in defence of ſome ſuperſtitious miracles: (an argument rather: but I will ſay no more, for the reſpect I bear to his memory) his *caveat*, I ſay, will not do amiſs; who having told ſomewhat, very ſtrange, of a Mountebanks Dog, (I could ſay much more of Mountebanks Dogs, and Horſes, which I partly know to be true) he adds, *Deſino, & vereor ad genium eum, qui profecto potuit hic miſceri*: that is, *But here I ſtop*, (or *end*) *as fearing that from Dogs, I ſhall be forced to go* (or *fly*, for a reaſon; that is) *to the Devil*: (he did not mean an *Angel*, I ſuppoſe) *Who in this might have a hand*, or, *mix himſelf*. It is ſure enough, that as there be magical *Hares*, whereof we have ſpoken in the *Firſt Part*: ſo magical Dogs alſo, and other creatures, actuated by another Soul or Spirit, than their own, (irrational, and ſenſitive only) whereof none are able to judge rightly, but they that are well verſed (no light ſtudy) in the contemplation, or experience of *uſe and cuſtom*: as in our *Firſt Part* hath been declared. However, this *caveat* though not unſeaſonable upon ſuch an occaſion; yet no

man,

man, I think, will have, or can have any just ground of suspition, that it doth concern us, in this case of Dolphins, and their love to Boys: which, as I conceive, must be referred to their *nature*, or natural disposition; *Natalis Comes* his reasonings against it notwithstanding. But if we take *genius*, in a more general sense, for another kind of Spirits, that are neither *Devils* nor *Angels*; I cannot tell what to say to it. The same *Pliny*, but now commended, hath a strange example, which we have mentioned in another place, our *Preface*, to Dr. *Dees's Revelations*, (or *Illusions* rather) as I remember. As for their love to *Musick*, I think it very probable, by those relations that are extant: but of that, we have no like certainty, as of their love to Boys, and mankind in general. The same (their love to Musick) is reported of divers other creatures besides, but I have no certainty.

BEFORE we end this point, somewhat might be added, of that famous *American* Fish, or Monster, called *Monati*; one whereof, a young one was bred and brought up by one of their petty Kings, in his Court, and grew to a vast bigness: very kind, and serviceable he was, to all that craved his help, but to Christians, or *Europæans*, (whom, probably, he might distinguish by their voice, and habit, not by their faith) of whom he had received an affront. This Fish they write, hath carried at once upon his back, no less than ten men; who in the mean time, sung and made merry, with all possible security. This perchance, in some mens judgment, may add somewhat of probability to *Arions* case, and to those other relations, that have been mentioned upon it: which, in my judgment, needs no further confirmation. The History of this *American* Fish (mention, at least) is in all that have written of the discoveries of those Countries: *Peter Martyr*, I am sure, a very sufficient witness, were there no other.

I THOUGHT I had done: but I have not; I shall make some use of their relations concerning this Fish, as not doubting at all of the truth; to confirm somewhat in the relations of the Ancients concerning *Dolphins*, which hath occasioned some wonder, but more mistakes. They write that some Dolphins did seem to rejoyce at the name *Simon*. I believe it, because ordinarily then so called; and when once used to the name, what wonder, when tame and frolick, if they seemed to know their name, and to rejoyce at it? And the same thing we find attested of that *American* Fish, we now speak of, which was brought up in the King's Court. The common name of the Fish, we said before, is, *Manati*: but they had given to this, a proper name, *Matum*: that is, in their language, *noble* or *generous*: and the Fish knew his name so well, that had any (whose voice he knew, especially) but called at the River side, *Matum, Matum*: he would presently hold up his head, and offer himself. But if any write, that Dolphins generally, loved to be called by the name *Simon*, more than by any other, as *Pliny* doth intimate; this is but to say, that there is somewhat in the sound of that word, that doth better please them, than any other ordinary sound: which is not impossible. The truth is, *Pliny* doth seem to say much more, as if Dolphins loved the name *Simon*, because so agreeable to their nature: being called, *Simones, à simis naribus*, that is, *from their flat nose*: such, both in Latin and Greek, being usually called, *Simones*. This ridiculous conceit I find *Pliny* charged with, by a very learned man, who therefore well objecteth; *Sed quis credat*, &c. *But who can believe that Fishes should understand, either Greek or Latin?* Nay, they must be prety good Grammarians too, to know the Etymology of the name, that therefore called, *Simones, à simis naribus*, from their *flat*

noses.

noses. Can any man believe, that *Pliny* was so stupid, as to believe any such thing himself; or so careless of his credit and reputation, as wilfully to expose himself to the scorn and derision of his Readers? Yet this *Salmasius* also doth pass over, as though *Pliny* had really believed it. *Ita appellari gaudere, quod simi sint, dicit.* *Pliny*'s words, as ordinarily printed, are, *Dorsum iis repandum, rostrum simum. Quâ de causa, nomen simonis omnes miro modo agnoscunt, maluntque ita appellari.* It cannot be denied, that from those words, scarce any other sense can be made. But whether ever *Pliny* did write so, a thing so horrible and so prodigious, that he that believes, may as well believe all *Æsops* Fables, to be true stories; deserved, I think, before we charged him with it, to be taken into some consideration. For besides *Pliny*, if *Pliny*, I do not find any Ancient, that doth write any such thing, but only that they delight in the name *Simon*: and *Solinus*, who ordinarily doth transcribe *Pliny*, saith no such thing, but only this; *Certum habent vocabulum; quo accepto, vocantes sequuntur: Nam proprie, Simones nominantur.* And *Ælian* who hath written a whole Chapter, to prove that Dolphins have some understanding, he hath no such thing. What then? I am very confident, that what *Pliny* wrote, was, or is; *Dorsum iis repandum, rostrum simum, quâ de causa, nomen Simonis: quod omnes miro modo agnoscunt, maluntque ita appellari.* So, *Pliny* saith no more, than what others say, and may very well, as before shewed, be very true. I never affected to be a *Critick*: my profession found me work enough, and would yet, had I many more years to live, and had my health. If I affected any thing besides, it is, to understand nature, to which I ever had a great inclination. Yet this I could shew, by hundreds of instances, that both *Divinity* and *Philosophy*, and all kind

of

of learning, hath suffered much, for want of true *Criticks*. But, *rara avis*: that age must be a happy age, that produceth two or three, that truly deserve that name. The labour is great: but if there be not somewhat more of nature in it, than labour; the more labour, the more danger.

THOUGH *Cardan* with me, be of no great authority, for reasons before expressed: yet he was a learned man, and I would do an enemy right, if he came in my way, as soon as to a friend. For in that case, he becomes my *neighbour*, and I bound by the laws of Christianity, to look upon him, as a *friend*. The same learned man (whom I did not name before, nor shall now; but a very learned man, and my good friend, when he lived) I thought he did *Pliny* some wrong, because, if he had better considered of it, he might have found, that that sense, and therefore those words, could not be his, which he did ascribe unto him; but unto *Cardan*, he doth much more, adscribing that sense unto him, which his words will not bear. Having said of *Pliny*, that he believed Dolphins understood humane language; a prodigious opinion: *Fidem tamen habuit Cardanus*; he addeth, *Yet Cardan did believe it*; and then produceth a passage of his, out of his *VII. De varietate, cap.* 37. *Delphines simonis quodam consueto nomine gaudent*, &c. It is a long passage, but not one word in the whole passage to that purpose, for which it is alledged. *Cardan* doth give, or endeavour to give a reason, why Dolphins, according to the tradition of Ancients, delight in the name *Simon*, more than any other. The first Dolphins, or former Dolphins, having been used to that name, saith he, and, (through the force of use and custom) delighted in it: that delight became hereditary to their posterity. This is the sum of *Cardans* conjecture, or opinion; if I understand, either

Latin

Latin or ſenſe. And there may be more Philoſophy in this, than every man will be ready to believe, or underſtand. For I have thought ſometimes, (I thought I had ſome reaſons for it) that the very thoughts of Parents, ſometimes, are propagated to their poſterity; how much more delights, and paſſions, or ſtrong affections? If therefore any Dolphin have been long uſed to the name *Simon*, (any other name, I think, would have done the ſame) and taken pleaſure in it; I think it is very poſſible, that another Dolphin, of his brood, (and ſo others, after) ſhould naturally affect that name, more than any other. However, there's nothing in *Cardan*, in the whole paſſage alledged, of Dolphins underſtanding humane language, either Greek, or Latin, or any other: or any thing tending to that purpoſe. So that I muſt needs ſay, that great wrong is done him, by that learned man; who, though a very judicious man; (I will ſay ſo of him, though he hath in my judgment ſaid more of *Cardan* elſewhere, to his juſtification, than I think, if well weighed, can be made good) yet he was too great a writer, to digeſt well every thing that he did write. By theſe inſtances, let the Reader conſider, how much it concerneth men, younger men eſpecially, who really ſeek after truth, not to take things upon truſt, without ſound examination; nor raſhly to *believe*, or *unbelieve*, till they have good ground for either. I have now done with *Herodotus* his *Arion*.

IN the next place we ſhall take notice of three relations, in *Herodotus*, which he thought himſelf bound, as he often profeſſeth, by the law of an Hiſtorian, to take notice of, though he did not believe them, as he doth expreſly profeſs of ſome of them. We ſhall but mention them. The firſt is concerning ſome people in the *North*, which were reported to ſleep part of the year, in Caves. This *Herodotus* doth proteſt againſt, as *incredible*:

credible: yet we know it is believed, at this day, by many, neither fools nor children, as very true; whereof we have given an account in our *First Part*. The second is of a people called *Neurii*, who are reported once in the year, to turn into Wolves: not into their ſhape, I believe, or but in part, at leaſt; but into their conditions and qualities, abſolutely, and very literally. But *Herodotus*, though affirmed by many with great aſſeverations, yea execration, or oaths; he ſaith, did not believe it. But what ſhall we ſay to ſome of our time, both learned and grave, who write of it, and commend it unto us, for a truth? So doth *Gaſper Peucerus*, a learned Phyſician, I am ſure, whom we have ſpoken of in our *First Part*: who deſcribes the manner and the time: and a very learned man, once Prebend of this Church, (who, though dead many years, yet lives in his learned Son, one of the Prebends of this Church likewiſe) in a book of his, inſcribed *Vates*; ſeems to aſcribe much faith to *Peucerus*. *Delrio* the Jeſuit, in his laborious *Diſquiſitiones Magicæ*, writing of the ſame thing, doth abſolutely determine it, that the *Devil* cannot, really, change *ſubſtances* or forms; to whom I willingly ſubſcribe: but that he may ſo qualifie the bodies, even of men, as that they ſhall produce the ſame effects, as if they were Wolves, or Lions, or the like: and *transform*, or transfigure rather, the bodies into the ſhapes, or appearances of ſuch brutes. And it is St. *Auguſtin*'s determination alſo, *De Civitate Dei, lib.* 18. *cap.* 18. *Delrio* doth quote *Herodotus*; and with *Herodotus*, *Cambden*: *Et hodie ex vulgi opinione, quidam Hiberniti, in altera parte Hiberniæ.*

THE third relation of *Herodotus*, is, of a certain people, whom he doth call *acephali*, that is, *headleſs*, becauſe their heads and eyes are in their breaſts, or upper parts of their breaſts. I take no notice of the other

reading in *Herodotus*, κυνοκέφαλοι, because not acknowledged by divers ancient Manuſcripts: though both *Pliny*, and *Aulus Gellius*, and St. *Auguſtin*, and ſome others, mention them alſo among the ſtrange Nations of the North. Whether any ſuch people or no, as theſe *acephali*, *Herodotus* doth not affirm, nor deny; but delivers it upon the report of the Country, in the deſcription of *Lybia*. If I be not miſtaken, *Munſterus* in his Coſmography, ſome where, (for I have not the book, at this time) doth deliver it for a truth. Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, I am ſure, in his reports concerning *Guiana*, ſet out in Latin, with Notes, at *Norimberg*, *Anno Dom.* 1599. by *Levinus Hulſius*, with divers Maps and braſs-Cuts; doth deliver it for a truth. St. *Auguſtin* alſo, doth mention ſuch, as from others; and from ſome publick pictures, very artificially carved, in *Carthage*, when he lived there. And that ſuch a child was born in *Miſnia*, in the year of our Lord, 1554. is recorded by *Fincelius*, *De miraculis noſtri temporis*; though indeed I do not find in the picture, either noſe or mouth, but eyes only. But that might be the over-ſight of the Painter, or Carver, rather.

IN all theſe three particulars, till further confirmation, as I do my ſelf, ſo ſhould I adviſe others, that know no more than I do, to ſuſpend their belief. Though truly, I muſt acknowledge, this, no ſmall inducement to yield aſſent, becauſe ſuch a belief, or tradition, hath been in ſo many ages; where there is no ground of ſuſpition, that they have taken it one from another, (a ſtrong objection againſt the *Phœnix*, and ſome other miracles of antiquity) as, for example, that they that believed, or carved the *acephali*, to be ſeen in Saint *Auguſtine*'s time,

time, had it from *Herodotus*, who ſpeaks of it ſo doubtfully; nor they that made report to *Henry* the Third, King of *France*, before ſpoken of, concerning the ſleepers, ever had it from the ſaid *Herodotus*, who doth proteſt againſt it, as *incredible*: or laſtly, that they that perſwaded *Peuceres* of late, or St. *Auguſtin* long before, that there were ſuch tranſmutations of Men into Wolves, before ſpoken of, for a certain time, did ground it, at all upon *Herodotus* his relation, or teſtimony; or perchance ever ſo much as heard of the name: and as little, I believe, upon St. *Auguſtins.* However, all this is not of force with me, to engage me to a belief upon grounds of reaſon, as I conceive. But to cenſure them that believe it, ſo they leave others, to the liberty of their own judgment; I ſhould not do that neither, becauſe there is ſo much to be ſaid, to make it not *improbable.*

I HAD ſomewhat of *Oracles* before, in the relation of which, *Herodotus* may ſeem beyond meaſure curious, if not ſuperſtitious. Some reaſon hath been given before, yet I will not take upon me to acquit him of all ſuperſtition: by which I underſtand, an exceſs of that worſhip, which was in uſe, where, and when he lived. But beſides the religion, or ſuperſtition of the place; he was alſo not little infected with the *Ægyptian* ſuperſtition, as by many places doth appear. But what ſhall we think of thoſe ſtrange judgments, he doth very particularly record, againſt thoſe, that attempted to rob the rich Temple at *Delphi*; the chiefeſt ſeat of *Oracles* then known (to Heathens) in the world? This indeed *Herodotus* doth relate with more than ordinary confidence; and it were ſtrange, if he could be ignorant of the truth of ſo memorable a ſtory, which was acted, (if true) if not when he was a man, yet when born, and of ſome years. I know not of any, that doth except againſt it, upon any Hiſtorical, or Chronological account: but againſt

against the probability of the story, in general, somewhat may be objected. Would God do such miracles, to preserve a Heathenish Temple; which he hath not done to preserve his own, at *Jerusalem*; as in the days of *Antiochus*, &c. nor so many Christian Churches, that have been spoiled, and robbed from time to time, in several Countries? And when more; or, more execrable profanation of holy things; when very Churches were turned into Stables; then in these late days, during the reign and rebellion of the *Fanaticks*! Another man would add perchance, and *Presbyterians*: but I would hope better things of them. They have declared against *Sacriledge* very roundly, many of them: and if the same men, should not oppose *profanation* of holy things, being things of the same nature, as vigorously; they would give men just occasion to believe, that what they have spoken, or done, against the other, was but for their own interest, or some other worldly end. But why then doth not God shew himself, at all times, as well as then, in *Herodotus* his time, and many times since? For it cannot be denied, but that every age will afford some dreadful examples, of horrible judgements against *Sacriledge and profanation of holy things*: but that it is so always, or so visible; especially, upon the actors themselves, we cannot say. But the greatest objection is, not so much, why not, always; as, why such indignation, such judgments, for the *Temples*, and *holy things* of idolaters; of *Devils*; as St. *Paul* doth call them? I would not have any man too bold, and I dread it my self; to call God to an account, of his judgments especially, which to men are most inscrutable. And I think, it is the greatest *Sacriledge* that can be committed, for any man, who perchance would scorn, that a child, or a Pesant, should aspire to penetrate into the reasons of his own counsels; to presume, that he can understand,

stand, or should understand the reason of all God doth; and not rather, when it is certain, that God hath done it, adore with humility, what God hath done. That such things hapned about the Temple of *Delphis*, as *Herodotus* doth relate, though very strange; (so they seemed to *Herodotus* himself) besides other reasons, I am the more apt to believe, because as strange things (miraculous, indeed) did happen again about the same Temple, and what did belong unto it, not long after; when the *Galli*, or *Gaules* of those times, under the command of *Brennus*, did attempt to rob it; which I know not any man, whom at this time I can call to mind, Heathen or Christian, that ever did question the truth of. Yet I should hardly say, as I find some do, that God himself was the immediate author of those *miracles*: So I hope I may speak with St. *Augustin*, and the Schoolmen, though I know, that in some sense, God is the only author of true *miracles*. *Sed quamvis execrandum idolum Delphis coleretur*, &c. *But though it was an execrable Idol, that was worshipped at* Delphi, *yet being it was worshipped by the* Gaules *for a God, no wonder, if, as sacrilegious wretches, they were chastised by the true God, with strange Thunders, and other prodigious events*, (one was, the rending of a hill at the top, which rouled down upon divers of them, and oppressed them. See other particulars, in the late Reverend Archbishop's Chronology, *pag.* 479.) *which did dash some of them, and drive the rest away, so that few of them* (the Army consisted of divers hundred thousands, whereof not a third part escaped) *did escape the punishment, due to either attempted, or executed Sacriledge.* So a learned, and pious Chronologer of our days. But, first I make a question, whether the God, or Idol, worshipped at *Delphi*, were really acknowledged by them (the *Gaules* I mean) for a God. I rather believe, that they were a desperate kind

of

of Heathens, that scarce acknowledged any Deity. *Aristotle* writeth of them, (and upon that account, will not allow them true *fortitude*, but brutish *stupor* only) that they neither feared tempests nor earthquakes: and some body else, as I remember, that they were wont to brag, all they feared in the world, was, lest the Sky should fall, and bruise their bodies. To which, that of the *Thraces*, recorded by *Herodotus*, for boldness, and contempt of all Deity, is not unlike; that when it lightned, or did thunder, they would cast arrows up, as it were, to Heaven, to threaten God; because, saith he, they would have no other God, but their own, or a God of their own making. Now, that God should permit the Devil, who can do much more, by his own power, given him by God, when God doth permit, than cause thunder and lightning, & strange tempests; to use his power, to uphold his own Kingdom, his principal aim, we doubt it not; but withal, to confound (Gods intention) the insolency of prophane wretches, and to maintain an opinion among men, (the interest of a Deity, in the opinion of ordinary men, being most concerned, in the vindication of *Sacriledge and profanation*) that there is a God; this, I think, cannot be matter of much wonder, to any sober, intelligent man. But absolutely to say, that the true God, who in *Job*'s case, life excepted, left the Devil to his own power; did it, or was the immediate author of those miracles; I do not hold so safe.

IT may further be objected, that even in those days, (for why God now doth not, commonly, shew such examples, much may be said to it, upon grounds of reason, & probability) but even, in those days, God did not punish *Sacriledge* always, though committed with the greatest contempt, and insolency, that impiety, according to the religion of those days, and profanes, could possibly devise. So *Dionysius*, the tyrant, the first of the two: who notwithstanding all his Sacriledges, and impious scoffs, died wealthy, and potent, and upon his bed; (though reported

otherwise by some, but I follow the best Authors) and left a flourishing Kingdom (if under a tyrant, it may be said of any Kingdom) to his Son and Heir. This objection is made by Heathens, of those times, but answered by them, that it is not always the way of Providence, or Divine Justice, to punish the offenders in their own persons, or presently: but that the vengeance lighted upon his Son, who of a wealthy potent King, once guarded with a standing Army of a hundred thousand foot Souldiers, and ten thousand Horse, besides too, (some write, five hundred) Ships at Sea; became after many revolutions, a poor wretched School master; yea, plain begger: the scorn and contempt of all men, even the most miserable, and so died: not to mention, what hapned to his wife, and two daughters, before he died, which no man can read, without horror. A good answer, from such. For, of another world, and of a day of Judgment, the truest answer, no body could expect it from them. This wisdom, it seems, they learned from long and approved experience: except some of them had it immediately from the *Scriptures*, which we know by many testimonies, were not altogether unknown unto them. And who knows, but those horrible *Sacriledges, and profanations* lately committed, in *London*, especially; where also the rebellion, by tumults, and seditious Sermons, first began; may not, through Gods just judgment, have contributed much, to this late dreadful, and, in some respects, miraculous Fire? But, this of *Sacriledge*, by the way only, to give some light to *Herodotus* his passage, in point of *Credulity* and *Incredulity*, which is our business. For though it might be a seasonable subject, otherwise, yet it is a subject, that hath very lately, so learnedly and so solidly been handled, by a very learned pious man; that to meddle with it otherwise, than upon such an occasion; I should think I did, (as the Proverb goes) *falcem, in alienam messem injicere.*

HERODOTUS has some strange relations of one or two notable Thieves, which may deserve to be taken into consideration. For Thieves and Robbers are men, and as men they may do actions, which deserve, if not commendation, yet *admiration*, and so objects of *Credulity* and *Incredulity*. Another use may be made, the better to escape them, or discover them, which sometimes, is hard to do, either to find them or master them. Witness that noble *Claudius*, who did so affront (πρᾶγμα παραδοξότατον, History stiles it, *A most incredible thing*) *Severus*, the *Roman* Emperor, (*both for valour and wisdom*, inferior unto none, *Dio* saith) that even then when greatest care was taken, for his apprehension, durst nevertheless, offer himself to the Emperor, kiss his hands, talk with him, and then give him the slip, and after this, keep out of his hands and reach, in despight of all means, that the Emperor, or those he employed, could use, or devise. And another in the same *Severus* his reign, named Βύλας, or Φῆλιξ, (for he had two names) of whom some particular acts are related, how he came to *Rome* himself, delivered some of his followers, when already condemned, (as the manner was) to be cast unto wild beasts: how he accosted the Captain, or Centurion, that was sent against him; took him by craft, judged him, shaved his beard, and sent him back with an errand, which I shall forbear. Generally it was said of him, that Ὁρώμενος, οὐχ ἑωρᾶτο. εὑρισκόμενος, οὐχ εὑρίσκετο. ἁλισκόμενος, οὐ κατελαμβάνετο which, I think, I may English more plainly, and not lose much of the *emphasis*; *That, when he was seen, he could not be found*; *when he was found, he could not be taken*; *when he was taken, he could not be held.* But yet he was taken, at last, not by force or policy of men, but by the treachery of a Concubine; the less to be pitied, that being so wise and wary otherwise, he would trust himself to such

such creatures. Some years before the happy (which made us all happy) restoration of our Gracious Sovereign, (whom God preserve) in a Book-sellers shop; I remember I lighted upon a book, in two Volumes, intituled, *L' Histoire des Larrons*, &c. that is, *The History of Thieves*, in *France*, from what time, I know not. I am sorry I did not buy it : it may be, I was not so well furnished : which at that time, when forced to sell a great part of my books, could be no discredit. I look upon it, as a very useful subject, the better to understand the world ; and if the same were done of the Thieves of *England*, so it were done with judgment and fidelity, which from an ordinary hand can hardly be expected, I think it would be well worth the labour. Here it may be observed, that there always hath been a kind of men in the world, who naturally, as I may say, are fitted with a marvellous kind of audacity, to attempt strange things ; and by a strange constellation, or fatality, are attended with luck, and success ; for a long time, at least, in their boldest attempts, beyond all imagination. The *Greeks* have many names for such kinds of men, as παλαμναῖοι. τελχῖνες. ἀλάστορες, and the like ; some of which have an intimation of somewhat above men ; and if we should say, beyond what is supernatural, ordinarily known ; there is a more natural kind of *possession*, not so known ; it may be there were no great error in it. When I lived (some years before our Restoration) with Sir *John Cotton*, grandchild to famous Sir *Robert*, (where, besides that inestimable Library, known far and near ; his noble and learned company, was a daily comfort) I remember well : I could tell the day and the year, but I forbear : that, as we were together by the fire, not long before dinner ; a well spoken Gentleman, and though not a professed Scholar, yet well acquainted with good learning ; came to him, and made relation of what had passed at *Westminster-*

minster-hall, that day, in the cause of a Lady, between her, and her husband; how, among the witnesses, that were to depose for the Lady, exception was taken against one; in the prosecution of which business, such things were there publickly, without any reply, declared against him, that he had done in *England*, in *France*, and elsewhere; as in all my reading I could scarce parallel, either for the quality of the things, or for the success, and confidence of the person, that he, that had done such things, durst shew himself, in a publick Court.

BUT to return to *Herodotus* his relations; The first of them (in his second book) doth consist of many parts. The first and second part, the contriving of a stone in the building, that might be taken away at their pleasure, that knew the secret, whereby they might have an entrance into a Treasury-house: and the craft, and courage of the Son, after his Fathers death, (the Author of the contrivance) when he was fallen into the trap, without any hopes of getting out; to advise his Brother, and fellow-Thief, to cut off his head, lest he might be known by it; so far, is credible enough. The third part also not altogether *incredible*; by such a device, divers Towns, some within our memory, have been taken. But for the fourth, of the prostitution of the Kings daughter, and the manner, how she was eluded; hath too much of improbability, and somewhat of impossibility, to be believed true, as *Herodotus* well judged; which is more than I can say of the fifth, and last; it being very possible, in those times, and in that place, when, and where, so many brute beasts were worshipped for the benefit they afforded unto men; very possible, I say, that the King should apprehend somewhat of a Deity in that man, that could effect such strange things: his very curiosity, to find the truth of what he so much

admired, might provoke him to do such a thing, more probably, than that the incomprehensibleness of the *Euripus*, should be the cause of *Aristotle* his death, or the unsolubleness of the Fisher-mens riddle, should of *Homers*.

ANOTHER relation he hath in the same book, of much affinity, concerning Thieves, who by long and tedious digging under ground, did rob another Kings Treasury, which we may wonder at, that any should be so confident, or so resolute, to attempt such a thing, in so much improbability (for it was a long way, that they were to dig) of success; but have no reason, otherwise, as set out and explained by *Herodotus*, to think it *incredible*. This digging under ground, puts me in mind of the *Gunpowder-plot*, such a Plot, as for the horror and immanity of it, I know not whether any History can paralel. But this hath been sufficiently set out by others, both Papists and Protestants. I have somewhat to say of it, which to me seems as horrible almost, as the Plot it self; what it may do unto others, I know not. I was once in the time of the rebellion, at the table of one, that was very great then, but must not now be named. There was at the table more than one or two, whether *Priests*, or *Ministers*, rightly ordained, I cannot tell: (for, even of them, some, though not many, did basely temporize) but by their habit, and some other circumstances, of that sort of people, that were *Preachers*, in those days. How it came to be talked of, I know not; but talked of it was, I am sure, and confidently affirmed, that there never was any such thing really, as the *Gunpowder Plot*, but that it was a Plot of King *James* his contriving, to endear himself unto the people. I do not remember that my patience was ever more put to it, though I never came into such company, (which was not often, nor without great necessity) but well armed with

patience.

patience. I did not think ſuch Bedlam talk was to be anſwered with words. But wanting power, indignation made me reply ſo much; It was ſtrange we ſhould doubt of it, at home, when Papiſts, yea Jeſuiſts abroad, had acknowledged it. Yet I deny not, but I have heard more than once, that King *James* knew of the Plot long before it was publickly diſcovered; which if true, doth take away nothing of the horror and wickedneſs of it; or of our obligation to God Almighty, for diſappointing it, ſooner or later. But even ſo much, is more than I can *find* ground for, from any printed relation, or more private information, (to me conſiderable) to believe. But ſuch was the antipathy of thoſe men, to Monarchical Government, and their ſuccesful rebellion for many years, had ſo beſotted *them* with a conceit of being the only favourets of Heaven, that by their good will, *no man, no people*, muſt be believed to have, or to have had any ſhare, or portion of Gods mercies, or good providence, (which did ſo eminently appear in that deliverance) but ſuch, as were, or had been of their own crew. How well ſuch men are like to uſe that liberty, which they ſue for, when they have it; I ſubmit to their judgment, or judgments, to whom it doth more properly belong.

OUR laſt ſubject, before this ſhort digreſſion, was of *Thieves*, occaſioned by *Herodotus* his relations; who hath had the name among Hiſtorians, generally, to be the relator of *incredible* things. The ſubject, it may be, as either too vulgar or too vile, ſome may think not ſo worth the conſideration. Though I be of another opinion, my ſelf; yet that conſideration hath made me the ſhorter upon it. I ſhall now the more willingly paſs to the conſideration of ſomewhat, that may deſerve, I am ſure, the attention of the moſt ſerious, if they be not too much of the humour of the times, that is, profeſt

Atheists; or, which is worse, such, as would seem to acknowledge a Deity, but as *Epicurus* did, that they may not want a subject to scoff, and to blaspheam. *Herodotus* in his second book, where he treats of matters belonging unto *Ægypt*, of one of the Kings of *Ægypt*, *Sethon* by name, he hath this relation: First, that the King was a Priest; so religious, and so confident in his God, or of his God, whom he served, that he made no reckoning at all of the Souldiers, and Captains, whom his predecessors had set up, and allowed them liberal maintenance; ὡς ὐδὲν δεησόμενοι αὐτῶν· *as not at all fearing, that he should ever need them.* But, how contrary to his expectation, *Senacherib*, King of *Arabia*, and *Assyria*, comes with a great Army to invade his Kingdom; and he, forsaken by the military men of his Country, had recourse unto his God; before whose Statue (prostrate, you may be sure) he did weep, and lament, and expostulate with his God, what things (without his help) he was like to suffer. That thereupon, his God appeared unto him in a dream; bid him not fear to encounter his enemy, he would provide him assistants. In confidence whereof, that *Sethon*, without any Souldiers, accompanied only with Tradesmen, and Artisans, and Court-men, or Lawyers; did go out to meet the enemy, and came in sight of them the first day, before it was night. Who certainly (though not expressed by *Herodotus*) could not but anticipate in his thoughts with joy, the success, and the fruits of an easie victory. But that very night, saith the Historian, an host of field Mice, did knaw their Bows and Bucklers, (their strings, I suppose) and Quivers, (or Arrows in their Quivers) so that in the morning finding themselves destitute of arms; having lost many, the rest run away. So far *Herodotus*: I think no man that hath read, in the Scriptures, both in the book of *Kings*, and in the Prophet *Esay*, the History

story of *Ezekias*, that pious King, not of *Ægypt*, but of the *Jews*; who being invaded by the same *Senacherib*, intended by *Herodotus*; and *Hierusalem* the royal City, hardly besieged; being in great distress, and in no capacity to make resistance; did both by himself in person, and by the Prophet *Esay*, with many tears and lamentations, address himself to God, in his *house*, (*Herodotus* saith μέγαρον) and there spread the threatning letter, *before the Lord*: upon which God, in a dream, or vision, (though not expressed) having appeared to his Prophet, sent him a gracious answer, of many words, but to this effect, that he should not fear; *Sennacherib* should do him no hurt: And that very *night*, not Mice, but the Angel of the Lord, smote in the Camp of the *Assyrians*, *an hundred fourscore and five thousand*: no man, I say, that hath read all this in the Scripture, but at first hearing, will take notice of the affinity, and somewhat wonder at it. But if he observe more particularly; first, *Senacherib*, King of *Assyria*; the same in *Herodotus*, and the Scripture, invading: A *King* and *Priest*, in *Herodotus*; *a King and Prophet*, in the Scripture: the King, in *Herodotus*, so confident in his God, that he thought he should need no Souldiers: *Ezekias*, in the Scripture, upbraided of his confidence, by the enemy: *Let not thy God, in whom thou trustest*, &c. and publickly declaring it himself, 2 *Chron*. 32. 7, 8. Their lamentation, and their application, each to his proper God, almost the same. The true God in the Scripture, and the supposed God in *Herodotus*, their answers, in effect, the same. The event, for the time, *the night*, the same, and for the main, a miraculous victory, in effect the same. And I must add, that for the time, in point of Chronology, what the Scripture doth record of *Ezekiah*, King of *Judah*; and *Herodotus*, of *Sethon*, King of *Ægypt*, is supposed by

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all Chronologers, and Historians whom I have seen, to have hapned about one time: I would ask; Can any man, that hath any knowledge of the Heathenish ancient story, and hath observed how usual it is with them, (as in stories that come by obscure tradition, it must needs) to detort, and adulterate, and misapply Scripture stories; make any question, but that what *Herodotus*, by tradition from the *Ægyptians*, doth relate of *Sethon* King of *Ægypt*, is nothing else, but what the Scripture doth record of *Ezekiah*, in that particular, of *Senacheribs* invasion, and the event of it? Yet I must confess, and at the same time profess my wonder, that neither *Josephus* of old, who takes notice of *Herodotus* his relation, where he hath the Bibles, concerning *Ezekiah*: nor any of our late Chronologers, not *Josephus Scaliger*, *Calvisius*, *Helvicus*, *Capellus*, *Torniellus*, *&c.* nor the late learned Archbishop, in his Chronology; nor *Hugo Grotius*, upon the place, take notice of it, as derived from the Bible. Yet *Vignier*, by many accounted the very best and most accurate of late Chronologers, hath some intimation to that purpose, that it is possible the *Ægyptians* might have the first ground of their story out of the Scripture-story: and that is all, which to me seemeth not possible only, but certain. But indeed Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who I hope stands not in need of mine or any mans testimony, in *England*; hath gone much further, and seems absolutely to determine it, as I do. And it is very remarkable, that this story of *Ezekiah's* miraculous deliverance, is no less than three times related at large, in the Scripture: (the second of *Kings* 18. 13. *Isaiah* 36. 2 *Chron.* 32.) so careful was the Author of it, that the memory of it might be propagated to posterity. And why should we not make much of this confirmation of it, from the ancientest of prophane Historians? Especially when some Christians have made

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bold, as *Torniellus* doth tell us, if not to deny it, yet to speak of it very doubtfully? Now against *Herodotus*, if it should be objected by any, that he is a fabulous writer; though somewhat hath already, and much more may be said, to vindicate his credit; yet in this particular, their needs no answer at all. For it is confirmation enough, that in those days, when the thing hapned, and for a long time after, the miracle was acknowledged, and the fame of it abroad, though mistaken, and misrelated in some particulars.

HERODOTUS doth add, that to his days, *Sethon* his Statue was to be seen in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouse in his hand. Which Mouse might be an ancient Hieroglyphick, such as are to be seen in that famous *Tabula Isiaca*, or *Ægyptiaca*, which I once had in an entire piece; but is now, I hope, to be seen in the publick Library of the University of *Oxford*: exhibited in parcels by *Pignorius*, with explications. In that *Table*, strange figures of men, and monsters, are exhibited, holding all somewhat in their hands; Birds, Flowers, Cups, and I know not what; all which, to unriddle certainly, (for wild conjectures and phansies, may be had) would require a better *Oedipus*, than any later ages have afforded. And it is very probable, which by the late Reverend and learned Archbishop of *Armagh*, is hinted, that those *Ægyptians*, who informed *Herodotus*, as some before had them; took the opportunity of that Hieroglyphick, the better to countenance their story of that miraculous, if true, deliverance afforded to their King, by Mice; because of a tradition current in many places, in those days, that Mice had done some such thing, some where: mentioned by *Aristotle*, in his *Rhetoricks*, and by divers others, since him. Whence also they write, that *Apollo* (the Deliverer) by sending those Mice, came to be called, Σμίνθιος, because σμίνθος,

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in some Country, did signifie a *Mouse*. Another reason also, besides this, why *Mice* were sacred in some Countries, is given by *Ælian*, in his twelfth book, *De animalibus*. Were there no other considerable story, (there be many more, and some, that have reference to the Scripture) in *Herodotus*, but this; yet this one would make me to prize the book not a little: which hath made me the more willing to take notice of it. And so, of a fable, an *incredible* thing; as, of a King of *Ægypt*, if not altogether *incredible*, yet not very probable; we have brought it to a *credible*, nay certain, and sacred story.

I SHALL now proceed to the consideration of those great works of men, which were to be seen in *Herodotus* his time, and are very particularly described by him: which subject, the great work of those ancient times, in general; I have observed to ordinary men, who know little more, than the things of this age; or have looked into former times, but perfunctorily, is a principal object of *incredulity*. I remember I had a speech of *Seneca* in my *First Part*, *Homine imperito*, &c. I might English it with little alteration: *That man is a silly man, that knows no more, than the things of his own days, or age.* However, they that are well acquainted with the state and stories, past or present, of *China* or *America*, will not, perchance, have much occasion to wonder much, at any thing in the *Roman* or *Persian* story, or any other, of former times: out of which nevertheless, I make no question, but we shall produce such things, which many, when they see the evidences, though they will not know how, or will be ashamed to oppose; yet will hardly be brought to believe. So much is the world changed, in these parts at least, best known to us, from what it hath been, in former times. I remember, when I was a young Student in *Oxford*, I know not by whose

whose recommendation, it may be, my own Father's; for he had a great opinion of it, and publickly professed it: but so it is, that I was very busie upon *Apuleius* his *Apology, for himself*: a serious *Apology* indeed: for it was for his life, being accused of Magick, before the Governor of the place, and answered for himself in person. Happy therein: for I think scarce any, then living, for eloquence, (wherein he is much unlike himself in all his other writings) wit, and all manner of learning, could have performed it as he did; so that he got off, more for his excellent parts, than for his innocency, in that particular. But whilest I was upon that book, both with delight and admiration; I met with one passage amongst the rest, which I did much stick at. About the end, where he doth endeavour to clear himself of that, which among other particulars was laid to his charge, that he had bewitched a rich woman, to get her love, and by her love and marriage, her means; among other things that he doth answer for himself, one is, that though her wealth was great, (for a private woman, of no power, or dignity) yet the dowry agreed upon, was but small; very small: and secondly, that wealth was not the thing he looked after, in marrying her, he doth argue, because soon after, he perswaded her to make over a considerable part of her estate, to her sons: among other particulars, part of her *family*, that is, (as the word is usually taken in the Civil Law) part of her slaves and servants. Now the number that she parted with, there expressed, is, *four hundred*: and I could not but think in reason, that she would keep one half at least, to her self. So that upon that account, this woman, rich indeed, and so accounted; yet a private woman, & such a one, as *Apuleius* doth maintain, that had no reason, being somewhat in years, to despise him, a young man, neither for his person, nor estate, nor endowments of mind, despicable: this woman, I say, must be mistress of no less than seven, or eight hundred servants.

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This, then, to me ſeemed ſtrange and almoſt *incredible.* But afterwards, when better acquainted with the ſtate of the world, at that time, and for many ages before; I thought nothing of it. The truth is, ſome thouſands of ſervants and ſlaves, in the eſtate of a wealthy *Roman*, was no very extraordinary thing. But then we muſt add, the multitude of ſervants, or ſlaves, was that, which made many rich, in thoſe days; which they that do not underſtand, wonder many times, where there is no cauſe. But to hear of thouſands kept meerly for attendance, and that by private men too, *Roman* Citizens, and the like, this may ſeem more ſtrange and *incredible*; and yet ſo well atteſted, both by writers of ſeveral ages, and by ſo many evincing circumſtances, that how rationally to doubt it, I know not. I ſhall content my ſelf with *Athaneus* his teſtimony, in his ſixth book of his *Deipnoſophiſts*, where with his *collocutors*, having ſpoken of the multitude of ſervants, that were kept by the Ancients, and what uſe they made of them; he makes one of them to reply: *Good friend,* Maſſurius, *you cannot but know very well, that the* Romans, *moſt of them, were wont to keep very many ſervants; many, to the number of ten thouſand, ſome others of twenty thouſand, and more; and theſe, not as that rich* Nicias, *the* Grecian, *for their labour, and their own profit, but for the moſt part, for their attendance, in the publick.* To this, pregnant paſſages of *Seneca*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and ſome others might be added, which I ſhall forbear, becauſe done by others. Beſides, *Pignorius*, a learned *Italian*, hath written a book of this argument, *De ſervis*, from whom it is likely the Reader may receive what ſatisfaction he will deſire. It might be well worth the enquiry, perchance, of men that are States-men and Politicians, how it comes to paſs, that in former times, a very ſmall portion of land, for wealth, power, and all manner of

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magnificence, yea and martial exploits; hath been more considerable, than whole Kingdoms are now, or have been these many years. *Sicily*, for example, but a small Island, in comparison of *England*. It may be a rich soil, to this day: I believe it is. But to keep it self, and to afford those supplies of Corn to other Countries, to *Rome* especially, (wherein those days, the greatness of the City, and populousness considered, more Corn was spent in one day, than is now, in three or four Cities, the biggest of *Europe*, take them together: I might have said, five or six, I believe, and not exceed) to be reputed the *Granary* of such a City; (one of *Sicilie's* titles, in those days) I believe is far above the present estate, or ability of it. *Dionysius* the Father, spoken of before, who was King of but one part of it, kept a standing Army of 100000. foot, and 10000. horse, besides a very considerable Navy. *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, the second of that name, who lived when *Anniball* invaded *Italy*, maintained a grandeur beyond all imagination. All Towns of *Greece*, did ring of his bounty and munificence. He did assist the *Romans*, and supply, if not uphold them, in all their wants, plentifully: assisted others, even the *Carthaginians*, in their great need, though rather enemies otherwise, than confederates. There were in that little Island, in *Pliny's* time, above seventy considerable Towns and Cities: But whether more or fewer, for the number, there were two, I am sure, *Syracuse*, which consisted of four Cities, built at several times; set out by *Tully* and some others, eye witnesses, as the mirror of Cities, (of *Greece* especially, so well stored at that time) for all manner of sumptuousness and magnificence: and *Agrigentum*, when in its flower, *not inferior to it*; which is recorded to have had eight hundred thousand inhabitants, at one time; either of those, I believe, far above the present estate of

Sicily.

Sicily. We might obſerve the ſame of divers other places. But I ſhall not take upon me now, to enquire into the reaſons. But certain it is, that they that judge of all things, reported of former times, by what they know, or have heard, ſince the world, though always the ſame, in effect, yet, in many things, that refer to men, and their actions and faſhions, and the Civil government of Countries and Cities; hath put on a new face, much different from what it had in moſt places; they that do, certainly, muſt needs ſtick at many things, as fabulous, and *incredible*; which others think they have reaſon to believe, as certainly, as what they read in beſt Hiſtorians of this, or the former age; and which are generally believed, and paſs every where, without any contradiction. Not that I think we are bound, in reaſon, to believe whatſoever is written of ancient times, though by ſome approved Authors and Hiſtorians. There is no queſtion, but they were men, as we are: favour, and hatred, and proper intereſt, might ſway them too: ſubject to the ſame vanity, to magnifie their relations; their habitation, and Country: what the *Græcians* call properly, παραδοξολογία, and δοξοκοπία, (a worſe vanity) ſo often obſerved by *Tacitus*; that is, a deſire, or pleaſure to tell ſtrange things, might poſſeſs them; and whatever elſe men are now ſubject unto, they might alſo. But when men of good judgment and capacity, write of things, which, if not eye-witneſſes of, yet might very well be known unto them: where, not one alone, but two or three, of ſeveral Countries, of whom there is no ground of reaſon to believe, that they blindly followed one another; not engaged, ſo far as can be found, or diſcerned, by favour or otherwiſe, purpoſely to diſguiſe the truth; write and atteſt the ſame thing: when thoſe things that are written, examined by other circumſtances, and particularities, of that

age,

age, or Country, whereof they write, are found to agree well, and to become probable enough; though, of themſelves, or of another Age, or Country, not ſo probable, or perchance *incredible*: add unto all this, though, all not to be expected always, yet found ſometimes; if the Authors lived in an age, which afforded many ſober and intelligent men; when good learning, and nobleſt arts, did flouriſh, which of many *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtorians we know to be true: in ſuch a caſe, where all or moſt of theſe do concur; I ſhall aſſoon believe thoſe things, that are written by ſuch, though one, or more thouſand of years have paſſed ſince, as thoſe things that are written by the moſt approved Author or Hiſtorian of this, or the former age.

WHO would or could believe, that is not very well acquainted with the ſtate of the world, in general; and of the *Romans* particularly, that a Citizen of *Rome*, in ſome office perchance, and in order to a greater; but a Citizen of *Rome*, in publick ſports and ſights, to laſt ſome days perchance, or ſome weeks, at moſt; ſhould ſpend as much, as ſome great King of our time, his revenues may come to, in a whole year? And proportionably, either the ſame man, or ſome other, in buildings, in apparel, in feaſtings, or the like: which things ſingly related, no wonder, if they be not believed, they do ſo far exceed modern examples and abilities. Yet ſomewhat in that kind was ſeen in the days of *Henry* the Eighth, (whoſe ſtory is full of glory and magnificence, till he had taken the greateſt part of the Churches goods into his hands) when five hundred Carpenters, as I remember, for I have not the Hiſtory by me, & as many Painters, & I know not how many other workmen, are recorded to have been employed, to build a Tent or Tabernacle, where he was to entertain the King of *France*, not many days, if more than one. The King of *France* his *Pavilion*,

all Velvet, might be as costly perchance, as to the substance; but that the materials might better be preserved for other uses afterwards; whereas the vast cost upon gilding and painting upon bare boards, could be of no further use, as I conceive. I desire the Reader not altogether to trust my relation, in this; for I trust my memory, which in so many years, since I read that History, may deceive me. But what shall we say, to the temporary Theatre of *Mar. Scaurus* the *Roman*, who was but *Aedilis*, none of the greatest offices in *Rome*, but indeed greatly allyed; of which *Pliny*, who was well acquainted with the world; his judgment is, that it was the costliest, and most magnificent piece of work, that the world (upon record) ever saw? His description is but short, let the Reader judge. Neither is it possible he could mistake, I would not say in the *valuation*; but, in the description of a thing, so fresh, so notoriously known, whereof the relicks, though they use to continue but for a while, did long remain. But yet I must confess, the next man *Curio*, who though upon another occasion, had an ambition to do some great work, for which he might be admired, though not in matter of cost, (for he was not of that ability) yet in his main end, to cause admiration, did in my opinion go beyond him. He made two great Scaffolds or Theaters, with convenient seats, which hung in the Air, as it were, having no foundation in the ground, but two single pins, or hinges, upon which, when they had taken their lading, (which I cannot conceive could be less, than some hundred thousands of people: *Universus Pop. Romanus*; *Pliny* saith; which must be understood very favourably, if but of one, or two hundred thousand men) as either they closed, or continued apart, they were to turn into several forms, or shapes, either as two distinct *Theaters*, or, one perfect *Amphitheater*.

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As two distinct Theaters, in the *forenoon*: *inter sese aversa*: back to back: so, that what was done in one Theater, could be heard or seen by them of the other: different Stage-plays being exhibited in each of them. But in the *afternoon*, (so I understand *Pliny's*, *postremo*, and, *novissimo jam die*: except we should understand it of many days; and that he speaks this, of the last day, which is not so probable) turning about, (*circumacta*, *cornibus inter se coeuntibus*) and closing, they made a perfect *Amphitheater*, wherein, or upon which, fencing-games (*gladiatores*) were exhibited; in common, now, to those, who before had been distinct, or divided spectators, of different Plays and Actors. This whole wooden frame, or structure, though it touched no ground, which was the wonder of it; yet could not, I believe, inclose, or cover, less than a hundred, or sixscore Acres of ground. A man would think, this could not be done, without some cost: and *Pliny* saith directly, that *Curio* was no very rich man; (*non opibus insignis*: his wealth consisted most, in plundered and confiscated goods) that is, for a *Roman* Citizen of those times: but however, not without cost, I believe; but in comparison of *Scaurus* his charge, before; or that of *Agrippas* (but not all, in such trifles, and gambols) after mentioned; not great, we may say with *Pliny*; who could, and doth give an exact account. And how many thousand Carpenters, do we think, were employed about this work? But was not he a brave *Ingeneer*, that undertook such a piece of work, and acquitted himself so well, that no man in all this winding and turning, by the miscarrying of any board, plank, or pin, had any hurt? *Pliny*, who is very elegant and witty, upon this subject, doth profess, he did not know whom to admire more, the *confidence* of the projectors, or undertakers, (*Curio* and his prime Carpenter, or Architect) or the *madness*

of the people, who durst trust their lives to such a *loose, groundless*, and *versatile* a device. But, *a rare sight*, (saith he) *to see that people, who were the Governors of the Whole Earth; whom so many Nations and Kingdoms served, and obeyed, to hang upon two pins, and to turn about* (like a Weather-cock; but *Pliny* doth not say so; I know not whether there were any, in his time) *upon a pageant. Pliny* in the same place hath divers other things to the same purpose, which it may be some may more wonder at, than what I have mentioned: besides what the same Author hath elsewhere of the same argument. But they that desire more full satisfaction in this point of *excess*, in general, to save themselves the labour, of searching into ancient Authors; they may, if they please, read *Lipsius, De magnitudine Romana*: or *Meursius, De Luxu Romano*: not to name others.

I COME now to *Herodotus* again, to me, as considerable an Author, as any I know of all the Ancients. The first great work I shall take notice of, is the *Tower* that stood, as he describes it, in the midst of *Belus* his Temple, the cirumference of which Tower, being square, was just eight *stadia*, that is, a mile. The height cannot be perfectly known by *Herodotus* his description, but only this, that it consisted of eight several stages. St. *Jerome* certainly, was much abused by them, pretended eye-witnesses, who reported it, four miles in height. This *Tower* stood entire, in *Herodotus* his time, and he speaks of it with as mnch confidence, as if he had seen it, or rather indeed, as if he had travelled so far, of purpose to see it. Best Historians follow the description both of the City *Babylon*, and of the Temple and Tower, which is made by *Herodotus*. But, which is more, very learned men do take this *Tower* described by *Herodotus*, to be the *Tower of Babel*, mentioned in the Scripture. So *Pererius*, I am sure, that learned and judicious

ous Jesuit, and so very lately, *Samuel Bochartus*, sufficiently known (though, to me once known very familiarly) without my recommendation. He is very large upon it, and doth very accurately consider the words of *Scripture*, that might be objected. But I for my part, though I favour *Herodotus*, and honour the worth of them I have named; yet I must profess, I see not ground enough to move me, to be of their opinion. Why was *their language confounded*, but to *confound* that they were about, the building of a *Tower* and *City*? And the Scripture saith plainly, *they left off to build the City*: and is it likely, they were suffered to finish the *Tower*, the more daring and defying work of the two: and not more likely, that in the *City*, the *Tower* also, which it is not likely they would begin with, as less useful or necessary, must be understood? Some may, with *Pererius*, suppose, that what was extant of it in *Herodotus* his days, was but part of what was intended, by the first builders. But then a man would think, had they laid a foundation for such a height, and the work left imperfect; *Herodotus*, or some after him, had taken some notice of it: whereas the account we have of the height, then extant, and to be seen, is rather *incredible*, than gives any ground of suspition, of any *imperfection*. I should rather think, that the foundation being laid, when the work began to rise, and to make some shew, it was interrupted, and in after ages (not many ages after I believe) brought to that perfection, in which it was to be seen in *Herodotus* his days. Yet again, I must confess, that if the platform of the top of this Tower was so large, as to contain a large Temple, or Chappel (νηὸς μέγας are *Herodotus* his words, which may signifie either) it may be not unlikely, that some further or higher structure was intended, (if not this very Temple, or Chappel) from the

beginning, if the builders had not been interrupted. So that in the conclusion, I think there may be as much said for it, as against it, that this *Tower* of *Herodotus*, was the very *Tower* of the Scripture. Should any man object, the long continuance of it, fourteen hundred years, as *Pererius* doth cast it, from the first erection; a long time, for so high a structure; it will be answered, that the *Pyramids* of *Ægypt* (as great, or greater a miracle, in my judgment, all things considered, than this *Tower* was) have already stood twice as long, and are yet in case, according to the best account we have of them, to stand some thousand years, if the world last so long.

AND by the way, let us take notice that the account *Herodotus*, full two thousand years ago, hath given of these *Pyramids*, is yet most followed by them, in our days, that have had the curiosity to view them; and the skill withal, as able Mathematicians, and Geographers, to examine every circumstance of his description, with accurateness. We may therefore the better believe him, in the account he gives of other great works, extant in his days, which himself, not trusting the relation of others, had the curiosity to view, that he might satisfie himself, and posterity the better. As first, his account of that miraculous *Labyrinth*, which, he saith himself, though he judged the *Pyramids*, when he first saw them, far to exceed whatever was most admired in *Greece*, as the Temples of *Ephesus*, of *Samus*, or the like: yet the *Labyrinth*, he thought, went beyond even the *Pyramids*. That *Labyrinth*, where he saw twelve great Halls, with a multitude of Pillars, and stone roofs. A thousand five hundred rooms above ground, he saw; and as many, he was told, and believed, under ground, answerable to the others: but those he was not admitted to see, as *repositories* for the body of the Kings, the founders of the *Labyrinth*; and some sacred, or consecrated

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Crocodiles. Out of the *rooms*, (οἰκημάτων) he passed into (παστάδας) *chambers*, out of chambers into (στέγας) *closets*, and so into other *Halls* : so that he was ravished, he professeth, with the sight, above measure. The walls that inclosed the *Labyrinth*, were engraven with many figures; and at the end of the *Labyrinth* a *Pyramis*, adorned with variety of Animals. Truly, I make no question, but there was enough, really, to be seen, to ravish him, or any man, that had seen it. Yet we must remember, that he was in a *Labyrinth*, and might easily lose himself in his reckoning: besides, that his very admiration and astonishment, might make him less able to observe so diligently, as otherwise he might have done. And that his leaders and informers, the *Ægyptian* Priests, who knew the certainty, might of purpose, to make their miracle more miraculous, (as they did in their years, and some other things) add somewhat, is very possible. This may be thought, and not improbable: yet we may not conclude from bare probability, that so it is certainly. Now to say, that after this *Labyrinth*, he saw the *Lake*, called *the Lake of Mæris*, which he yet admired more, than all he had seen before, as himself doth profess, to some may sound like a fable: it doth not so to me: who am very confident, that the description he makes of it, is very exact, according to the truth of what he saw, with his own eyes. The same, I may say, of all those other strange things, which either of *Babylon*, or any other place, are recorded by *Herodotus*, as certain and true; all, or most, attested by some others, and by later Chronologers, not questioned; though to many, who by what they now see, or is to be seen, judge only, I doubt *incredible*.

BUT I may forget my self, and whilest I tell of strange things, that were once, pass by the miracles of our time, that are *now, to be seen.* Such is *Cœnobium*

B. Laurencii, or, St. *Laurence his Hospital*, in *Spain*, according to *Bertius*, a learned Geographer, his description, and testimony. Truly, I should think so of it, by his description. And for his testimony, the words are very significant, and express; *Opus istud præstantissimis nobilissimisq; operibus, quæ vel extant usquam, vel unquam fuerunt, adnumeratur, ab iis, qui cum judicio spectare nova, iisque vetera conferre queunt.* This is more than I have heard of it, by any Travellor; yet not more, than may very well be true. For it is a true observation of *Pliny*, both of great wits, & of great works: *Alia, esse clariora; alia, majora.* If there be any other such great work of our times, which I do not mention, it is not, because I dote upon antiquity, but because I know it not; not my partiality, but my ignorance. Neither am I of that opinion, that all great, or costly works, deserve truly to be admired, but such only, as are as profitable, (publickly) as they are great: or such at least, as for their beauty and magnificence, are so ravishing, that they teach us withal, less to admire ordinary petty sights, and objects, which vulgar souls are so taken with. If *Aristotle* may be heard, (I hope he will, when men return to sobriety) that is truest *magnificence*, and deserving highest commendation, which is bestowed upon the Gods, as in the erection of magnificent Temples, and the like: not because they need it; but the better to set out their majesty, unto men: and next unto this, that magnificence, which is beneficial unto the people. So he. Not to mention the Temple, consisting of one stone, the roof excepted, which *Herodotus* doth tell us of, not without some admiration of it: he tells us of a large and miraculous edifice, hewn out of a rock, consisting of one simple stone; which to transfer from *Elephantina*, the native place of it; to *Sai*, where *Amasis*, King of *Ægypt*, did appoint it to be placed, for a rare sight; two thousand expert mariners were employed, for the space of three years. *Herodotus*, I confess doth tell us of it,

it, as much admiring: which I profeſs, of all great works I have read of, I leaſt admire; except it were at his prodigious vanity and prodigality, who would beſtow ſo much money, upon ſo idle a work. As if a man abounding with wealth, would be at the charge of removing (if it can be done) ſome great rock, ſuch a rock as *Hooky*-rock in *Sommerſetſhire* is, conſiſting of many concamerations; wherein, when I was there, I obſerved ſome things, which I thought, and ſtill think, might deſerve conſideration, as well as many things, which make much more noiſe: ſuch a rock, I ſay, to remove it, from whence it ſtands, to ſome place, many miles diſtant. But I ſaid, if it can be done. *Archimedes*, I believe, or he that undertook to cut the great mountain *Athos*, into the form of a man, which ſhould have born in one hand a City of 10000. inhabitants; and in the other, a river, emptying it ſelf into the Sea, if *Alexander* would have ſet him on work; would have undertaken it, and for ought I know, brought it to paſs, if any man would, or could be at the coſt. But to what end I pray? Only to ſhew unto the world, that he can caſt away ſo much money upon nothing, and yet continue *rich*: which I ſhall ſooner believe, than either *wiſe*, or truly *magnificent*.

IT is time that I ſhould have done with *Herodotus*. Yet to end in ſomewhat that may be more pleaſing, or more conſiderable, at leaſt, than this laſt of *the great ſtone*; he hath one ſtory, that I neither know how to deny, being a ſtory of his own time, or little before, and which I do not find contradicted by any other; nor yet very well how to believe. It is concerning *Pythias*, the *Lydian*; neither King nor Prince, nor any thing elſe of either power, or authority, that I can find; but only a very rich

private

private man. What authority he had, was over his ſlaves and ſervants, which indeed muſt be very many? Is it credible, as is reported of him by *Herodotus*, that he could be ſo rich, as to entertain *Xerxes*, as he paſſed by, to invade *Greece*, and all his Army? In ſaying, *all his Army*, therein conſiſts the *incredibility* of the thing; the number of which Army, according to the moſt contracted account that we have of it, is almoſt *incredible.* Though *Herodotus* ſay, ϛρατιὴν πᾶσαν, and *Xerxes* ſeem to acknowledge as much; yet I would not be ſo preciſe, as to preſs the words rigorouſly. We will firſt abate his Sea-forces, many hundred thouſands: and of the Land-forces, that marched with him, we may abate many thouſands, and ſtill leave him divers hundred thouſands: four or five, at the leaſt. Theſe, ſo many, *Pythias* did entertain, at his own charge, how many days I know not, becauſe it is not expreſſed: but I believe, more than one. Beſides this, he did offer, the ſtory tells us, to *Xerxes*, in ready money, as a voluntary contribution towards the charges of his Army, in gold and ſilver ready told: ſo much, as comes by learned *Brerewood* his caſting, (which I ſhall not take upon me to examine at this time) to 3375000. *Engliſh* pounds, and this according to the leſs valuation of talents, as himſelf doth tell us. But he miſtakes, when he ſaith, *Pythii Bithinii opes.* So much he did offer unto *Xerxes*: his wealth, as himſelf profeſſed, did conſiſt in his lands, which in that ſumme are not at all valued. It may be, he did offer this to *Xerxes*, as *Seneca* did his eſtate (not leſs I dare ſay, if not much greater) to *Nero*, to ſave his life, which he feared was in danger, by it. And truly, as it fared with the one, ſo with the other. Every body knows, out of *Tacitus*, how nobly *Nero* refuſed *Seneca's* offer; and how much more, as he profeſſed, he thought him worthy of. But at laſt, and it is a queſtion,

whether

whether *Seneca* had not given some occasion, whilest he did desire to prevent it, he was commanded to die; but indulged the choice of his death. *Xerxes* answered *Pythias* as nobly, and because there wanted some thousands, to make the sum that *Pythias* had offered him, a round perfect summe, according to the calculation of those days; *Xerxes* made up, what it wanted, and bad him keep it all. But then afterwards, when *Pythias* was an humble sutor to him, that of five sons of his, that followed him, he would be pleased to discharge the eldest, to look unto his Fathers affairs; *Xerxes*, as a right tyrant, fell into a rage, and had that Son cut in two, that the Army on both sides, as they passed by, might have a sight of his body, (or one half, at least) to be a terror unto others. Yet, to speak truth, I do not find, that he took away any of his money, or goods; but for the good that he had done, spared, as he professed, his life, and his four sons, that remained, besides his estate.

I HAVE been the more willing to make use of *Herodotus* for instances, because of the respect I bear unto him for his antiquity, and because the times and Histories he doth write of, have more relation, and afford more light to the Scriptures, than any other Author, or History doth. But *Herodotus* was not my business, but this, that different times and ages of the world make many things to seem *incredible*, and not only to seem, but in very deed, *impossible*: which have been formerly very *possible*; and of such a time, such an age, if well understood, at any time *credible*: And whereas great works, great sights, have hitherto been the subject of our instances, and examples, which many other subjects might have afforded; it hath not been, without some choice, or particular end. It is far from me, to believe, that the world is grown vain, since I am grown old: which is noted by many, as a vice or reproach of old age.

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Had I never read any thing of the old world, but what we read in the third Chapter of the Prophet *Isaiah*; though it cannot be denied, that some ages have exceeded others, in this kind; yet I find enough there, to make me think, that to wonder at any thing, in point of wordly excess or vanity, as new and never seen before, is great folly. But this is no argument to me, not to commiserate the blindness and wretchedness of mankind, so apt to degenerate from the glory of their first creation, & the end of their making; because it hath been so always, ever since sin, by the disobedience of our first Parents, entred into the world, and made it *subject unto vanity*. Though therefore it hath been so, and will be so, generally, as long as the world doth last; yet since in the worst times, and most corrupted places, some there have been, and will always be, more or fewer, that have been, though not altogether free themselves, yet sensible, and earnestly, both for themselves, and others, striving against it: Why may not I hope, that even now, in the croud of Ladies and Gentlemen, going the broad way, as fast as they can; who have fixed their admiration hitherto, and their ambition, in their *modes* (the invention, commonly, of some leud Taylor, or phantastick Courtier) and *fashions*; the pomp and gaudiness of the world; that even among them, who for want of better education, in these unhappy times, are as proud of their *Patches* and *Pedlers-ware*, as some would be of Crowns and Diadems; or some noble atchievements for the publick good: when they see, or learn by such instances, how vile and vulgar, those things are, which they so much admire, and doat upon, which often fall to the share of the unworthiest of men: some may begin to think, there is, certainly, somewhat else, wherein true honour, and glory, and felicity doth consist; and that God and Nature have not made them capable of highest contemplations, to think Gold and

and Silver, Silks and Sattins, and what depends of them, the best of things? To this end, though somewhat without the trouble of long seeking, where there is so much variety, hath been brought: yet let me add, that of all I have read in any Greek or Latin Author, I do not remember any thing more effectual, to make a man that hath any thing of a man in him (a rational, I mean, and ingenuous creature) more sensible of the vanity of all wordly pomp and glory, (such especially, as this age doth afford) than what *Polybius*, of all Historians, the most faithful and serious, in those *Fragments* of his, first set out by *Fulvius Ursinus*, doth relate of *Antiochus* his pomp and magnificence, in publick sights and entertainments, at *Daphne*; a fit place for such excess and riot. The occasion of which, was, a frolick or vanity, to outbrave *Æmil. Paulus*, General of the *Romans*, who had exhibited some games in *Macedonia*, not long before conquered by them. Had *Antiochus* done it of purpose, by his example, to teach men contempt of worldly pomp; for whilest his servants servants, by thousands in a company, road in Chariots, and upon Horses, all deckt with Gold, and Silver, and Purple, and whatsoever is most precious, in the account of men; himself rode by, meanly attired, upon an ordinary Jade, and did, at the same time, perform many vile offices; but, had it been, I say, to shew his contempt of worldly pomp, he might have been thought an admirable man. But the truth is, that what he did, he did it as a *mad-man*; which, with some other such pranks, got him the name of *Antiochus* the *mad*; and in his affected personal vulgarness, had no other end, but that he might be the more admired, and lookt upon. But missed of his end, when the spectators of all this bravery, for above a month (for so long it lasted) notwithstanding that their bellies, with no less cost, than their eyes, had been

fed;

fed; glutted and surfeited, both in their eyes and bellies; (such are the pleasures this world affordeth) began, at last, to despise, first his person, then his pomp, and forsook him. I wish my self so good an *English*-man, (for there's no great difficulty in the Greek) that I were able to translate the whole narration in good and proper *English*, which without more knowledge of the world in matter of pomp, and gaudiness, than I have, can hardly be: I cannot but think, that it would do good. But, lest this might be looked upon, not so much as an argument of excessive, or *incredible* wealth, which I must not forget my primary intention; as of extraordinary *madness*, which, as before said, got him that sirname of *Antiochus* the *mad*: I would have the pomp of *Ptolemaus*, sirnamed *Philadelphus*, who was a Prince of credit, joyned with it: both to be found in one book, *Athenaus* his fifth of his *Deipnosophists*: part out of *Polybius*, and part out of *Callixenes*, an Historian of those days.

OF excess in fare and feasting, not used by Kings and Emperors, which (except we should put down the summs of the expences, as cast up by others to our hands) might seem less *incredible*; but of ordinary *Romans*, I have had no instances, because there is so much of it, in all kind of writers, that though they that are altogether illiterate, may wonder and not believe; yet they that have looked into them, but superficially, will easily believe any thing, that can be but thought possible. For certainly there is no kind of excess, in that particular, that the whole earth (then known) could afford, but hath been tried, and was, in those days, ordinary.

BUT I must do *Herodotus* some right: out of whom *Athenaus* doth relate, that one *Smindycides*, a *Sybaritan*, (noted every where, unto a Proverb, for their

luxury)

luxury) did carry along with him, where he hoped to speed for a wife for his Son; Cooks for all sorts of meat, a thousand; which, by *Ælian*, is increased to three thousand; whereof a thousand *Cooks*, a thousand *Faulconers*, and a thousand *Fishermen*. Whereas in *Herodotus*, no such thing is to be found, either of *Cooks*, or any other company; but this only, that among others, who appeared suitors to *Clisthenes*, for his daughter *Agarista*; (who though no great Prince, entertained them all, in a most Princely manner) this *Smindycides* was one. Now if *Herodotus* wrote no more, I think they do him wrong, who impose that upon him, which hath too much of improbability, even of those times, to be believed. Or if he wrote so indeed, (not probable to me) yet even so, some right we do him, to perfect his Text: though I am somewhat confident, that if he did write any such thing, it was not without his ordinary *proviso*, in things so improbable; *that such a thing was reported, but by himself not believed.*

WE have spoken of many things, which to some, (I have found it so more than once) might seem *incredible*. I thought I had made an end. But I remember my self, that we live in an Island, as other Islands are, compassed with the Sea: the chief glory and security whereof, are, those wooden walls, commended unto the *Athenians*, by the Oracle, when *Xerxes* invaded the land; good Ships, and expert Mariners. And God be thanked, I think there is no Nation of the world, but will yield to the *English* the precellency of that glory, in point either of Ships, or Men: God continue it. But though, for use or service, which is the principal end of Ships; we may challenge precellency of any that are, or have been in former ages; yet in point of *credibility*, which is our business, they are greatly deceived, who think there never were greater or fairer Ships, than those that have been

been seen in these later times, since Navigation hath been so much improved by the discovery of that secret of the Loadstone, not known to former ages, of always turning to the North. If they limited it, for service of war, or long journeys, I should not be against it. But for greatness, or sumptuousness, what comparison? Let the description of two Ships, built by *Philopator*, King of *Ægypt*; made by able Authors, who were eye-witnesses, (and besides them, how many thousands) or the description of a later Ship, built by *Hieron*, King of *Syracuse*, before spoken of; concerning which, one *Moschion*, wrote a particular Volume; the truth of which descriptions made by skilful men, eye-witnesses; when so many thousands, who had seen them, were able and ready to attest, or to contradict, as they should see occasion; no man can rationally doubt of: let them be read, and I think I may be allowed, by those that have read them with any judgment, to say, that the least of those Ships, might be bigger than any ten (it might be true of twenty, for ought I know) of those *Spanish* Ships, which in Eighty Eight, appeared like so many Castles; put together; and exceed the cost of them too. I say the least of them: which, as I take it, was King *Hieron's* Ship: which had this above the two others, that it was made for use of war also. And let me add, that I make a question, whether any Ships now, or lately made, carry any piece of Ordnance so great, as to do that annoyance, that some Engines of that Ship, made by *Archimedes*, that noble Ingeneer, as they are there described, could do. If I have exceeded in my valuations, or proportions, I desire to be pardoned. I had no intention, I am sure: those that are better versed in such things, may soon find it, and correct my error, for which I shall thank them. And it is to be noted, that this Ship of King *Hieron*, was built only for a present, to

to one of the Kings of *Ægypt*, whereby we may guess at the wealth, and magnificence of that petty King, if the extent of land, over which he reigned, be consider-ed. But many such Kings there were in those days, even of single Towns, or Cities, very rich, and some, very potent. And whereas one of the Ships made by *Philopator*, is reported, or recorded rather, to have contain-ed forty several ranks, or rows of rowers, on a side, the one above the other; which since that, Ships of 8. or 10. or 12. rowers, some have thought could hardly be made, to be serviceable, will be thought by many, not possible, and therefore *incredible*; all that I can say to it, which I am sure I can, is, that had my Father (of Bl.M.) his *Commentaries* upon *Polybius*, upon which he bestow-ed a great part of his life, been finished and Printed, he would have made it clear, how it might be, and answer-ed all objections: And it is sure enough, that the inven-tion of many things practised by the Ancients, through ignorance of former times, now thought impossible, is lost. Though I deny not however, that I also be-lieve, that such a vast Ship could not be much service-able. And the rather, because *Livy* doth mention one that had been *Philip*'s, King of *Macedonia*, which was of sixteen ranks, (*Quam sexdecim versus remorum age-bant*) so big, he saith, that it was almost unuseful. The story saith, that vast Ship before spoken of, had to the number of 400. rowers, and souldiers, to the num-ber of 2850. All which is attested by *Plutarch* also, in his *Demetrius*. All these, in the out, or open pla-ces of the Ship. How many more, in that numerous ample buildings and edifices of the said Ship, which though neither by *Athenæus*, nor by *Plutarch* specified, or particularized; yet by that description of the two other lesser Ships, we have in *Athenæus*,

we may probably gueſs at: how many more thoſe large buildings might contain, I ſay, God knows. I believe, as many more, as all the reſt put together: which will exceed the number of ſome conſiderable towns. But *Plutarch* doth add, that this Ship was built more for ſhew, than any ſervice; and that it never moved from the place, where it was built, without much danger, and difficulty. The biggeſt or longeſt Maſt of one of theſe Ships, which was looked upon as a great providence, by the diſcovery of a Shepheard, was found, ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τῆς Βρεττανίας· that is, *In ſome mountains of Britany*, now *England*: if that reading could be warranted. But it cannot: ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τῆς Βρεττίας, much more probable, if not certain. For which, good reaſons are given by learned men. Not therefore for much ſervice, I ſay, ſuch vaſt Ships: yet in the account *Athenæus* doth give us, of *Philadelphus* his ſtore, or proviſion of Ships, he doth mention Ships of 30. 20. and 14. rows, which certainly were intended for uſe. But I have done with this: And yet now we are upon Ships, ſomewhat of our times, or not long before, for the *incredibility*, beſides uſefulneſs, if true and real, may deſerve to be taken notice of. That a Boat, not to be ſunk by any tempeſt, in all weathers, very nimble and ſerviceable, may be made, if we may believe *Fiorananty*, notwithſtanding his uſual cracking and vapouring, we may believe it true. But of the two, I ſhould give more credit to *Trithemius*, that learned Abbot, who doth name the man, by whom a book or diſcourſe was publiſhed in *Print*, wherein for a hundred thouſand Ducats, he did offer, firſt the Pope, *Innocentius* the *VIII.* then the *Venetians*, and laſtly the *Genuenſes*, (ſo I remember was the diſcovery of the New World, for the price or charge of a very ſmall Navy, offered to divers Princes, who did but laugh at it, but repented it afterwards) to teach them the invention of a

Ship,

Ship, unoffensable (if I may so speak) to all dangers of the Sea; and by which (or by some other invention) Ships ready to sink, might be preserved, and any goods out of the bottom of the Sea, easily recovered. The loss of this invention, or inventions, when to be had and purchased at so easie a rate, *Trithemius* doth seem very seriously to condole, as though he really believed it: if in it, he had not a respect to himself more, who promised such mighty things, which should have made the world happy, but never came to any thing, but to busie distempered brains, or to distemper theirs, which were sound before.

BUT since *England* as an Island, gave me this occasion of Ships, which though true, may seem strange and *incredible*: I will take this occasion, to tell somewhat that I have read of *England*, which may justly seem as strange, as I am sure, it is false, and ridiculous; but that the occasion of the mistake (difference of customs) may be considerable, to prevent the like of another Country. In *Ortelius*, or *Mercator*, I know not which, but one of the two, I am very confident, some Greek Author, or Historian, speaking of *England*, gives a reasonable good account of it, as I remember; for it is many years since I read it; but a reasonable good account I say, otherwise; but this, most falsly; that they make their wives common to their guests. It is so false, that to go about to refute it, were ridiculous, if not scandalous. Yet they that know the fashions of other Countries, in the East especially; where to look upon a woman, that passeth by, veiled; or to look up, if any be at a window, or in a *Balcone*, is the cause of death unto many: where a man may be acquainted, and in dealings, with another man; often go to his house, eat and drink with him, and yet not know, not so much as dare, to enquire, whether he have a wife or no: he

may acquit the Author of that false report, from any intention of either lying or slandering; if he were a stranger and bred in one of those Countries; only, blame his simplicity, or want of judgment, that he would judge of other Countries, which he did not know, by those that he knew, and was acquainted with: who might himself have known, if a Scholar, or a piece of a Scholar, that somewhat much more strange, than such ordinary salutation, used in *England*, and some other Countries, had been once in use, even among Christians, when I believe chastity, and continency was not less in request, than it is now in any place; but indeed so unhandsom, and uncivil otherwise, in my judgment, (worthily condemned both by the laws of sundry Heathen Princes, and by the Canons of the Church) that I will not so much as name it.

BUT if this man have done *England* wrong against his will, upon a false supposition, I know not how to excuse them, *English*-men born, I believe; who have endeavoured to perswade the world, that *English* men were born with tails, such as brutes have naturally: or, indeed, how to excuse him, who though he would not seem to give credit to it, yet speaks somewhat doubtfully of it, *Novit Deus*, &c. when he could not but know, that it was a base, ridiculous untruth, the device of some Popish Fanaticks, (much like the calumnies of our Protestant Fanaticks, and, of late, wicked Atheists, against the Church, and the Clergy) which no sober man would give the hearing to. True it is, that *Polydore Virgil*, who long lived in *England*, in his History of *England*, (as *Delrio* doth observe) did write something of the people of one Parish in *Kent*, which he would have, to have hapned unto them, as a miraculous judgment, for some affront offered by them to *Thomas* of *Becket* his Horse, as he passed by: and it is possible, that

that the publick reproach of *Kentish long-tails*, raised upon another occasion, mentioned in the Histories of *England*, might be some occasion of that foolish report; or, to speak more properly, *tale*. But *Polydore* doth add, that they had been all gone long, and extinct, to whom this hapned. *Delrio* makes a doubt, whether he speaks this of a truth, or in favour to the Nation. *God knows*, saith he: and adds, *The reproach is passed upon the whole Nation, and doth yet continue among bold people, who will adventure to say any thing, whether true or false; But, if true*, (*Delrio* goes on) *will.* Tooker *might have done well, to ascribe to his Queen that vertue also*, &c. a base scurrilous jeer, for which the Jesuit deserved to lose his ears, to teach him, and others, to make so bold with persons so sacred, as *Kings* and *Queens* are. But the quarrel is: This Will: *Tooker*, wrote a book, it seems, (I have it not) *De Strumis*: whereby he doth ascribe to Kings and Queens of *England*, a power derived unto them by lawful succession, of Healing, *&c.* If he deny it to the Kings of *France*, as *Laurentius* doth lay it to his charge; or derive their power, from *England*; I think he was too blame. And *Laurentius*, and some others, (*Sennertus* among others) too blame also, who writing of that subject, would appropriate it to the Kings of *France*. I remember well, that when I was in the *Isle* of *Weight*, being earnestly invited thither by some of the chiefest of the Island, (though then, under a cloud, for their Loyalty) I was told of some extraordinary cures done by *Charles* the First, (since a *Martyr*) whilest he was a Prisoner there; not only upon some that had the *Kings Evil*, (as we call it) but upon some others also, who laboured of other diseases. Which, if true, and certain, (as, because told me by persons of quality, I am apt to believe) it is pity, it should

not be more known; if not more known; (if, I say, because of late, since I left off going to *London*, by reason of sickness, such a stranger to new books, and so little conversant with those, that I have) than I know it is. But I say, if *true and certain*. We need no counterfeit miracles; his death, and his book are sufficient miracles to *canonize* him: and they that could not, cannot yet be converted from their *rebellion* and *schism*, (I may now add, *Atheism*) by *either*; I think I may say of them, that though one rose from the dead, or an Angel did appear unto them from Heaven, they would not be converted, or believe.

HITHERTO, since the examination of *Epicurus* his late *Saintship*, or *Canonization*, tending to the undermining of all piety and godliness; our chief business hath been by sundry instances, rationally discussed, to rectifie the *incredulity* of many; all tending to the vindication of *truth*, wherein the happiness of man, and the honour of God, is so much concerned. Now though the clearing of one of the two contraries, must needs (as before said) imply the illustration of the other also; yet the better to acquit our selves, let us consider of *rash belief* also, and so what means, or cautions some instances of that also, will afford us, to prevent it. Not, that we may never be deceived, for which I know no remedy, whilest we continue men, but to believe nothing; a remedy much worse, and more pernicious than the disease: but to prevent, as I said before, *rash belief*, which is all, that humane prudence doth pretend unto. What I observed in the First Part, upon those words of St. *Augustine*, that, *Multa credibilia, falsa*, &c. must here be remembred also. *That all men are lyars*, is the speech of one, who could not lye, or be deceived, in what he delivered absolutely, in the authority of a Prophet, or a man inspired by God. It may be answered,

that it was *in his haste*, (his own confession) that he said it; in the same *haste*, or impatiency, that made him to utter those words, *I am cut off from before thine eyes*, though he lived and reigned many years after that. This might be said, had not St. *Paul* the Apostle, made a general application of the words, to all men. But granted that all men in some sense, or other, are *lyars*; yet that some men, accounted otherwise sober, & serious, should, with much labour, devise and study lyes, not for any profit they hope to reap by it, but only for the pleasure of deceiving others, and to triumph, as it were, in their error and ignorance, or rather in the common calamity of mankind; this would hardly be believed, by them especially, who are more ingenuous themselves, had not all ages afforded some pregnant examples. But though some might do it so, meerly, as we have said; yet other considerations might move others to do the same thing, besides what we have said, or what is most common and ordinary, gain or profit. If a man be passionate for a cause, his religion, his friend, his Country, his trade, or calling; all these, or any of these, may induce him, to devise lyes, or frauds; which in that case, for a publick end, some men account no lyes, or frauds, but a meritorious act. Which yet might have more colour, when it is done for a publick good, which seldom doth happen: whereas for a little vain-glory, an imaginary title, to advance the honour, and reputation of a tongue, of a town, of a family, or the like, it hath been done by some, without any regard at all of their own shame or conscience, or forecast of the issue, which probably may prove contrary to what is intended, or expected; shame and ignominy, instead of honour and glory, when such base means are used to procure it. What a world of lyes and counterfeit books, monuments and evidences, the conceit of *piæ fraudes*, in former

mer times did produce; and how many have been gulled and deceived by them, who doth not know, or hath not heard? Which kind of counterfeit books, monuments and evidences, as they are able to confound right and wrong; to overthrow whole States and Governments, Civil and Ecclesiastical, as by many instances might be proved: so is there no work, either of it self more noble, or more advantagious to mankind, than to be able to descry and discover them, and by good and satisfactory proofs, to assert what is genuine and sincere. But a work of great difficulty, which doth require perfect knowledge of the learned tongues, of times, (which, without being well acquainted with the Authors, not profest Historians only, but others also, of every age, learned and unlearned, is not attainable) of fashions and customs, and all antiquity: besides a good judgment, without which nothing can be done, in this, or any other useful work. They therefore that would reduce all learning, to natural experiments; or at least, would have all learning (not to speak of them, who account all other, altogether useless; who I doubt are not few) regulated by them, and those that profess the trade, whether meer Empiricks, or others; how well they provide for Religion, the peace and tranquillity of publick Estates, the maintenance of truth, whether in matters Civil or Ecclesiastical; and what will be the end of such attempts, (without any disparagement of any thing that is done, in *England*, or out of *England*, for the further discovery of Nature, which I honour, as much as any can do, be it spoken) but as some men project it, and give it out, what will be the end; though such men cannot, or will not; yet all wise men may easily foresee, and is no difficult speculation. But to go on. There is not any body I think, who deals in learning, who hath not heard of *Annius Viterbiensis* his bold and wicked attempt, by

counter-

counterfeit Historians of greatest antiquity, to confound all true Chronology, to the great prejudice of all History, and the truth of the holy Scriptures themselves. And had not this impostor lighted upon a time, which did not long precede the restoration of good learning, and that happy age, which afforded so many able men in all kind of literature; it is very possible, that those abominable forgeries and fopperies, had passed every where for Oracles, and undoubted truth. For to this day, or very lately, notwithstanding so many learned Censures, of Papists, and Protestants, of all professions, that are extant against him, and have laid the imposture as clear and visible, as the light of the Sun, when he is in his strength; there be yet, or were very lately, men of no small fame and credit in the world, who could not digest, or be perswaded, that so many fine Titles, should be cast out, as meer baubles, or forgeries. Who knows, had the times continued in that ignorance, and this impostor sped, as he did for a while; but another might have been encouraged, by some supposititious writings, and bold fictions, to advance the credit of the *Alcoran*, above the *Bible*? Much about the same time, or not long after, a learned Court-*Spaniard*, had the boldness to obtrude to the world the inventions of his own brain, for the writings of the most learned of all Emperors, (known unto us) that ever were; *Solomon* only, for the testimony the Scripture doth give him, excepted. And though the genuine writings of that incomparable Prince, (but indeed so adulterated by false Copies, that little of them was to be understood) were published not long after; yet did that forged and adulterous stuff, translated into most languages of *Europe*, Printed and re-printed, with large Comments *in Folio*; *in Quarto*: pass currently, with

great applause, for a long time after; and had I never done any thing more in my life-time, than that I was the first, that undertook that great task; to restore that worthy Prince to himself, by making him intelligible; I should not repent that I was bred a Scholar, or that I lived where, or when, good learning was in request.

IT is not yet full forty years, when in a Book-sellers Shop, in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, I lighted upon a Book intituled, *Etruscarum Antiquitatum Fragmenta*: Printed some where in *Italy*. A fair large book it is, of the largest size of books, full of Inscriptions, many cut in Brass, and many others. I confess that the first sight of the book did so ravish me, that *I* scarce knew where *I* was, or what *I* did. Yet, that day, with good company, *I* was to go to *Gravesend*, in a Barge or close Boat, which we had hired of purpose. *It* was not possible for me to settle to any reading, (except here and there, as *I* went along, by snatches) until *I* was got into the Boat: and then excusing my self to the company, and alledging for my excuse, that *I* had got such a treasure, as if *I* had gone a hundred miles for it, *I* should not think it dear bought, or sought; or to that effect, *I* fell to reading. But my pride and boasting, was soon over. *I* had not read a quarter of an hour, *I* dare say, but *I* began to suspect, somewhat. But in less than an hour, or thereabouts, my judgment was so altered; or rather my joy, and my hopes so confuted, and confounded; that what book a little before *I* did not think dear at forty shillings, (that was the price set, as *I* remember) *I* now valued, as so much waste paper, and no more. The truth is, when the heat or violence of my expectation (which did almost transport me) was once over; *I* began to wonder at my self with some indignation, that *I* had had the patience to read so much. For *I* was then verily satisfied, that there was scarce a line in the whole book, from

which

which either by the Latin, or by the matter of it, a man not altogether a stranger to such things, might not have discovered the fraud. Yet a fraud otherwise contrived with great art & speciousness, to take them that are apt to be taken by the outward appearance. Having then a book at Press, which was almost ended, before *I* knew what any man else did; *I* could not but let the world know, what *I* thought of it. Since which time *I* have seen divers pieces, some for it, of men *I* believe, who themselves were engaged in the fraud; but more against it; by which *I* was glad to understand, that the fraud was, not only detected, but also, as it well deserved, detested in all parts of *Italy*, *Rome* especially. Among them that have contributed that way, *Leo Allatius* is one, who though he may be thought over sedulous in a thing so notoriously discernable; yet his book well deserveth the reading, because it will furnish them, who are not much versed in such things, with many arguments, (whereof some may be useful in divers things, as there proved by some instances, that have no reference to learning) how such frauds may be discovered. Yet for all this *I* know that since *I* had published my judgment, and for ought *I* know, since some of these censures, or confutations were published; divers in *England* did shew much zeal for this precious book: and *I* was told by the late most Reverend and truly learned Primate of *Ireland*, that some in *Ireland* did go to *Italy* of purpose that they might bless their eyes with the sight of those precious Monuments, or Relicks. So prone are many men, not only, inconsiderately to entertain an imposture; but also loth to forge the opinion they have had of the worth and truth of it, when once they have entertained it. What wonder then, if *Christianism* was so soon turned into *Mahometism*, in a great part of the world; when so much force was used to bring in the

one,

one, and so little learning found (such was the sad condition of those times and places) to uphold the other, and to discover the impostures of pretended *Enthusiasts*? But now I have commended *Leo Allatius* to the Reader, I must give him a caution, how he doth give credit unto those words of his, *Page* 152. *Ægyptiorum quoque cadavera bituminis beneficio post viginti aut plurium annorum myriades perpetuitatem adepta quodammodo fuisse, viderunt alii, & nos ipsi*, &c. by which he doth seem to make the world elder by many thousands of years, than it is; or ever, I think, any man, those that make it eternal excepted; made it before: which, I am very confident, was not his meaning; though, how to rectifie it, as a fault of the Printers, I know not. Had these *Antiquities* been received generally, as a true piece; besides that they contradict the Scriptures, in some places; I think half the world would have been Conjurers, and *Enthusiasts* by this time; for that is it, which they chiefly advance. Here again I may say: God preserve the Universities: without other learning, great and various learning, besides *natural experiments*, all things must necessarily come to confusion, in a short time.

IN those kind of things which pretend to antiquity, as I would not have a man peremptorily to reject any thing, upon light suspitions; for so, he may bereave himself of many rare things; and most true it is, that things almost *incredible*, (the discovery of the new world, I reserve for another place) are discovered sometimes: So on the other side, not very suddenly to believe, nor to ascribe much to his own judgment, (which all men are apt to overvalue naturally) till he have made trial of it many times; and till he perfectly understand (so far as may be, by labour and diligent inquiry) both the nature of the thing, and all circumstances of the story, which he is to judge of. There is nothing so slight almost,

almost, but doth require some experience: and there is nothing so hard, almost, wherein long experience, where there is a natural pregnancy, may not breed perfection. I have heard of some men, (but heard it only) who by the bare handling and smelling, would judge better of old Coins, (which is a great trade beyond the Seas, and concerning which many books are written) than others, not altogether strangers unto them, could by the sight: The more precious every thing is, the more subject it is to imposture; though to me, there is nothing so mean, but the truth of it, is precious. The worst is, (which should teach men humility) let a man be never so careful and wary, or so judicious and well experienced; yet either through the obscurity of nature, in some things, or the cunning of men, whose study is to cheat, and to impose; he may be to seek sometimes, even in those things, wherein he thinks himself most perfect, and, either caught, by some cheat, or at a stand, and nonplust. I read in a good Author, of a stone sold to *Jewish* Jewellers, who make a trade to deceive others, in such things; for a good *Diamond*, for the price of 9000. Crowns, which proved but a Crystal, of little worth: and of another, sold for a *Ruby*, for 300. Crowns, which proved (let no man wonder; for the same Author doth teach, there be red *Diamonds*, as well as *white*: *Abr. Ecchel. in Hadarrhamaum, de proprietat.* &c. *Paris.* 1647.) a good *Diamond*, and was sold for 7000. Crowns. One of the best (some will say, the best) Anatomist late ages have produced, began to dissect a *Spanish* Lady, of great rank, for dead, when she was alive: but she died, and he too, for shame and grief. And a skilful Chirurgeon being to open a vain in the arm (that invincible arm) of *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*; cut a Nerve, or Artery, which had almost cost him his life. No man therefore so

skilful

skilful and wary, but may erre ſometimes: and in matter of impoſtures, which are generally the contrivance of men; it may be a queſtion, whether ſomewhat, beſides man, doth not concur ſometimes, of purpoſe to illude, and to fruſtrate men in their moſt ſedulous inquiries.

WHEN *I* read the relation of thoſe bones found in *Daulphine*, in *France*, in a Grave made of Brick, 30. foot long, 12. broad, 8. deep. 18. foot in the ground, with ſome Inſcriptions, and old Coins about it; the Bones, or *Sceleton*, that was found in the Grave, being 25. foot and half in length; *I* do not know what to think of it. *Riolanus* indeed, who profeſſed both Phyſick and Chirurgery in *Paris*, at that time, wrote ſomewhat, to perſwade the world, that it was a cheat. But I know *Riolanus* out of a humour, or ſomewhat elſe, would ſometimes oppoſe, where there was no great ground: the ſame, I ſuppoſe, who would perſwade the world, that there is no ſuch thing in the world, as *Hermaphrodites*, of which more in our Firſt Part. The relation of thoſe Bones, firſt ſet out, doth import, that the Sepulcher once opened, moſt part of the *Sceleton*, having been in the Air from eight in the morning, to ſix in the night, fell into duſt; ſome of the thicker bones, and ſome that were well nigh petrified, by reaſon of a little ſpring, that did run over and waſh them, excepted. Thoſe that were left, were, by the Kings order, brought to *Paris*, and by him bought, to be kept in his Cabinet of rarities, as the very bones of a Gyant. This *Riolanus* doth not deny. *Peireskius*, that great and famous Antiquary, upon accurate examination of all circumſtances, did at firſt paſs his verdict, that probably, they might be true bones of ſome great Gyant, of the old time: but afterwards, did rather incline, to think them the bones of an Elephant. *Riolanus*, after ſome conjectures,

ctures, doth pitch upon that at the last, to make them *fossilia*; bred, and begot in the earth; because, saith he, it is the property of some grounds, to produce some bony stones, or stony bones, which have all the properties of true bones. Or, that they might be made by art, which may be done, he saith, and in time thus metamorphosed by the water. He hath more conjectures, but in this particular case, (for as to the nature of the *Fossilia*, in general, and the marvellous works of nature, in this kind, I believe much) but in this particular case, in my judgment, so improbable, that it doth, to me, clearly appear, that he had more will to oppose others, than ability, to give better satisfaction himself. His exceptions, from the dimensions, or properties of the bones, as first related; I shall not take upon me to examine, or to control, it is not my trade. Only I can say, there might be some mistake in the relation; or somewhat besides the ordinary course of nature, which doth happen, we know, sometimes. I my self, when I was young, did see a grave in *Spittle-fields*, two or three days after it was opened. The skull was broken in pieces, by him that digged the ground, and the pieces scattered, and some carried away. But by some pieces that were found, and put together, the whole skull, by the Kings appointment, (as I was told) being drawn out according to art, did equal a bushel, in the compass of it. So I was told, and I think, by one of the Court, and a Scholar: but I am not certain. I my self was then sick of a disease, which, I think, caused more wonder, than the Gyants bones. It was but a pin, but a very costly pin, it proved, in the compass of seven years: for so long it was, not before it came out of my body; but, before my body was well of it; so that I was seldom out of the Chirurgeons hands. But Physicians, I thank God, cost me little: Sir *Theod. Mayerne*, and Dr. *Raphael Thoris*,

Thoris, I had in *London*, where most of my sickness was, who were my very good friends, as they had been my Fathers. But to return: I had some of the Coins that were found in this *Spittle-field's* Grave. But, that other Grave, is my business: That that Grave, should be the Grave of *Teutobochus*, that Gyant, or Gyant-like man, mentioned by divers Ancients, (who according to *Peireskius* his casting, must have been some 10. or 12. foot high) according to an old inscription, pretended to be found in the said grave; besides other reasons that have been given, I less believe it, for that very inscription; which I am sure, cannot be of that antiquity: except we should say, that such a grave being digged up, many hundred years ago; which by a constant tradition, or by some much worn inscription, did appear to be *Teutobochus* his grave; to increase the miracle of his height and bigness, it was of purpose so re-built, and the inscription also, according the wit and *genius* of that age, so renewed. This is possible, a man may say: and somewhat of that nature, I am sure hath been done in more than one age. Witness the old Statues, which with changing of their heads, became the Statues of divers men; or perchance, of Gods and Men, successively; and many other things done in that kind: which I will not stop to call to mind, because there is no need, except I had more confidence, that it is so, indeed. I shall conclude nothing, but as I begun: when I have well considered of all particulars in the relation of these bones; what I account, certain in it, what doubtful, and perchance fabulous; and read what others have thought and written of it: and not of this only, but of many such relations of graves and bones, well attested: I am at a stand, and suspend my belief. But therefore to conclude, that all such relations are false, because we cannot absolutely resolve, or answer all doubts, and

Queries:

Queres: I hold that a very preposterous way, and very unworthy the profession of a Philosopher, or one that seeks after truth: (time may reveal many secrets, which are now hid; and diligent searching may find some) but well agreeing with the dull and sottish *Epicuræan* humour, which to prevent the trouble of inquiry, and withal, fearing that we may be forced sometimes, to go to a higher cause, than the sanctuary of *Atomes*, hath found a compendious way, to reject all as fabulous; any evidence of truth to the contrary, notwithstanding, which it cannot give a reason of. We have their own words, out of *Lucian*, a great friend, if not professor of the Sect, in our *Preface* to Dr. *Dee's*. *Plato* therefore said well: Μάλα φιλοσόφου τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, τὸ θαυμάζειν, that, *To wonder and to admire, was a quality, that well became a Philosopher*; and was indeed, *the beginning and foundation of all Philosophy*. And so *Aristotle* too; more than once, very rightly. For *to wonder and admire*, doth cause inquiry and diligence: it also sharpens the wit and brain. But to believe nothing true, that is *strange* and *admirable*; doth well become such infidels, who make their ease and their pleasure, their God. If any except, that rather *to wonder little*, (*Nil admirari*, the Poet saith) may become a Philosopher better, as he whose work is, to dive into the causes of things, which cause wonder to the ignorant, that may be true too, rightly understood: since that, *not to wonder, or to wonder but little, is the fruit, of having wondred much*: and that too from *Aristotle*, (that true *master of reason*, indeed; a title lately usurped by some, who have as little right to it, as any men of the world, I think) αἴτιον τὸ θαυμάζόμενον τοῦ μὴ θαυμάζειν. But what if the *deceitfulness* of men, more than the *obscurity* of nature, or any other cause, be the cause of our admiration? That also must, upon such occasions, among other

things, be remembred; and those *Etrusca Antiquitates*, before spoken of, may serve for a pregnant example, what pains some men, though they get nothing by it, will take to contrive a cheat; and what admiration they cannot, by true, to raise it by false miracles. What if some men, though they cannot contrive any thing, that will be ripe to work whilest they live; yet can be so base and unworthy, as to solace themselves whilest they live, with the presumption of deluded posterity, by their means? So indeed it might happen, that four or five hundred years before that grave was opened in *Daulphine*, some such conceited man, (if man to be called, and not Devil rather) having lighted upon some Whales, or other fishes bones, which they write are, or have been, very frequent in that Country; might out of them contrive somewhat, towards the resemblance of a *Sceleton* of a mighty Gyant; bury them in a formal Coffin, or Grave, which might endure many ages; cast in Coins, and other convenient ware, not doubting but revolution of times, and accidents, sooner, or later, would bring them to light. What remedy, in such a case, but patience, and good circumspection, before we yield full assent, or be too confident, where such a thing may be suspected, though not easily discovered?

I REMEMBER I have read of a monument found in *China*, the rarest thing, if true, that ever came out of the earth, in that kind. *Abrahamus Kirkerus*, in his *Prodromus*, gives a large account of it. I know what account some make of it, that it is a counterfeit thing, forged by the Jesuits of those parts. It is easily said. But upon due consideration of circumstances, (so far as hath yet appeared unto me) not so easie to be believed. For what was their end in it? To promote the Christian Religion, in *China*: or to abuse us here in *Europe*, with

a false report? Truly, it is very hard to believe, that so much pains should be taken, to so little purpose, when there was so little likelihood, that the imposture could so long hold undiscovered. It is a very long inscription, and the stone that contained it, must be very large; and many hands, if not horses, used to convey it too and fro. But if, which is more probable, to promote Religion in *China*; then certainly such an inscription, such a stone was there found, digged out of the earth before many witnesses, and afterwards so disposed of, as the story doth tell us. How could the Jesuits prepare and convey such a *stone* thither. in a Country so full of people, so near one of the chief Cities? And if once discovered in their jugling, was it not more likely, to do them more hurt and their cause; than they could expect advantage, in case it had passed for a true story? Besides, what *Kirkerus* writeth of it, I suppose is written and attested by more than one; though I can name but one, *Alvarus Semedo*, the *Portugal*, (who I think was no Jesuit) in whom I remember to have read it. I profess by what I have read of it, I cannot find ground of reason, to make me believe it an imposture: neither hath it been my luck hitherto, to meet with any body (that I can remember) that hath gone about, upon grounds of reason, to refute what is written of it, but only in the way of *Seneca's Sapientissimi*, by which any thing may be false or counterfeit, which we do not like, or understand; *fabula est, mendacium est*. In *Emanuel Dias* his Epistle, which *Kirkerus* doth exhibit, I find *Trigaultius* mentioned, as being then in the Country, when, and where that hapned; who in his relations of *China*, first set out, could say nothing of it, because they end many years before, and the book Printed, *Augustæ Vindelicorum*, 1615. But it seems, he made a second Voyage, and happily a Relation of that too, which I have not seen.

They that have read more, may give a better account perchance; but this doth serve our purpose, to ground such observations upon, as have reference to *credibility*, or *incredibility*. But now I have mentioned *Kirkerus*: I have not any of his books, at present, and therefore shall say less: but by what I have read, or seen of him, I should not advise any man, that loves truth, to take all for good and merchantable ware, which he doth offer. I shall not insist in any particulars, but only this in general; as I know him a man of great parts, so a great undertaker, and a very confident man; two suspitious qualities, and I am sure, he hath deceived, or hath been deceived more than once.

I HAVE done with particular instances, not because the stock of my matter, which I proposed to my self, is spent; but because the time, which I have, or can allow my self for this imployment, is out. I shall now have other things to think of, if my health will give me leave to think of any thing else, but death. But before I end what I am now about, I think it requisite, that I add one word or two, concerning *History*, in general. Some taking the advantage of some notable discordance, yea manifest *contradictions* among Historians, of best credit; have made that use of it themselves, and commended it unto others, to discredit all History; ancient especially, even where they agree. And truly, if upon that account, we do not think our selves bound in reason, to believe them in things more ordinary; it is not likely we shall, in things that may be thought very strange, and (but for their authority) *incredible*. This, to them that are not acquainted with the world, may seem somewhat: to them that are, nothing at all. For so are all things in the world, liable to some defects, and irregularities: which notwithstanding, few, or none are laid aside, upon that account. That it is so, we may be

be sorry: but *History* must not bear the blame only, since it is the general case of all things, or most, that we deal in. I must confess, it hath troubled me not a little, when I have met with such contradictions, in best Historians. For example: What *Herodotus*, and after him, *Diodor. Siculus*, and divers other Historians write of *Cyrus*, that great Monarch, (stiled *Gods servant*, in the Scripture; of whose salvation, through faith in the promised *Messiah*, *Melancton* made no question) his violent death by the hands of a woman, far from his own Country, or Dominions, who hath not heard? Yet *Xenophon*, a grave, and famous both Philosopher and Historian, who lived not long after, and served another *Cyrus* in his unfortunate ἀνάβασις, or *Expedition* against his brother, *Artaxerxes*, (the History whereof, he hath written) doth give a quite different account of his death: to wit, that he died in his bed, in his own Kingdom, (which comprehended many Kingdoms) in much peace, with many other particulars, tending to the same purpose. Wherein neverthelesse we have more reason to wonder at the thing it self, subject to so much obscurity, than at the different account of Historians. For it doth appear by *Herodotus*, and we are beholding to him, for giving us so much light, that even in his time, there were several reports, concerning this great *Cyrus* his death: so that, what he doth deliver of it, he delivers as the most probable (in his judgment) tradition; not as certain, and indubitable. I could instance in divers such particulars. But what is this to the body of the History of the World, for some two thousand years, (besides the Scripture History) to be gathered out of the generality of Historians, of all Ages and Nations: which reading, (where men are not too far engaged into sensuality and profanenesse) by the knowledge and consideration of the many revolutions of the world, the sad

chances and alterations, which publick Estates, and private persons and families are subject unto, producing commonly, (as in *Salomon*, and *Aurelius Antoninus*, another *Salomon*, for this kind of wisdom) a right apprehension of the vanity and contemptibleness of the world and all worldly things, without a *reference to God, and immortality*: they that make this good use of it, though they die young, yet may be said to have lived longer than any *Epicuræan* Sectary, though he should live two hundred years, who can give no other account of his life, but that, he hath eaten and drunk, and enjoyed bodily pleasure, with perfect (we will suppose it so) contentedness, so long: which things have nothing at all of a rational soul in them, but of a beast, (of a *dog*, or a *swine*) much more, than of a man. They therefore that despise History upon that account, might as well deprive themselves of the light of the Sun, because it is subject to some *Eclipses*.

BUT we must add, that many of these *contradictions*, which we charge upon Historians, proceed not from the Historians, but our ignorance: our ignorance, I say, either of the tongue, not perfectly known, (wherein many are deceived, as they that think themselves very good *Grecians*, because they have read, and can understand two or three Greek Authors) or of the times, or of the thing it self, which is spoken of; which may have reference to some of the Sciences, or some secret of Nature; or for want perchance of that light, which a diligent comparing, and consulting with good books of ancient, or later times, would afford. That it is so; so many, once thought apparent *contradictions*, both in the *Scriptures*, and other good Authors, besides Historians; now by the labour of learned men, happily cleared and reconciled, are sufficient evidences. I think there is not a book, of any age, or profession, extant; but ancient, especi-

eſpecially; but may give ſome light to a judicious Reader, towards the clearing of ſome obſcurity, either in matter of fact, or ſcience, or work of nature. Two *Univerſities*, in one Kingdom, are little enough for ſuch a work, if a man go the right way to work. But many run, where one only carrieth the prize. And if but one in a hundred, or two hundred that run, happen to ſpeed, (as God be thanked, the Univerſities have always been ſtored with able men, in this kind, who have been a great ornament to the whole Nation) the coſt is not ill beſtowed upon one or two hundred, that do not, (ſo that it be not for want of labour, and induſtry) for that ones ſake. Πολλοί τοι ναρθηκοφόροι, παῦροι δέ τε βάκχοι. *Er. p.* 1668. *Quàm pauci, qui capiunt magnitudinem literarum*; was a ſpeech very frequent in the mouth of one, whom I knew very well; and I might have been the better for it, but for frequent ſickneſſes, and the loſs of twenty years, during theſe late troubles and confuſions.

BUT beſides, many *contradictions* proceed alſo from a humour, in ſome men, or a malignity rather, to contradict others. So *Cteſias*, of old, was known to ſet himſelf to contradict *Herodotus*. To make him fabulous, and himſelf a conſiderable man, he pretended, becauſe he had lived in *Aſſyria*, and ſerved one of thoſe great Kings; to ſacred records. But it fell out much otherwiſe, than he expected; for *Herodotus*, in moſt things, wherein he diſſents from him, is followed; and he, generally, accounted a fabulous fooliſh Hiſtorian. From what humour it proceeded, I know not. But I knew a Gentleman of great worth, who would very ſtifly argue, that *Conſtantine* the Great, never was a Chriſtian. I do not remember, I ever heard him alledge any thing for it, which I thought of any force. But this he might, as well as *Pomponius Lætus*, a late *Italian* compiler of

History, (suspected by some, to have had more affection for old *Heathenism*, than he had for *Christianity*) made bold to write, that *Constantius*, one of *Constantine's* Sons, died a Heathen.

OTHERS again, though they have no humour to *contradict*; yet they will hardly believe any thing, that doth contradict, or not well sute with their humour, and proper temper. So that a man had need, if possible, to know somewhat of the temper of his Historian, before he know what to think of his relations; such especially, as have somewhat of *incredibleness* in them. We heard a learned Physician, of our times, (in our *First Part*) deny, that there are *Witches*. One great argument is, because he did not believe, that any woman could be so cruel, or wicked; so that he doth not stick absolutely to profess, that should he see with his own eyes, any woman commit any of those horrible things, that are laid to their charge; he would not believe his eyes, that it is so, truly, and really; but believe it a delusion. Yet this the man, that doth tell as horrible stories of *men-Sorcerers* and *Conjurers*, without any scruple of believing, as any I have read in any books of that argument.

OF all women I have read of, ancient or late; I know not of any that stands upon the records of History, for cruelty, and all manner of wickedness, more infamous, (or indeed comparable) than two women, that lived at one time in *France*, better than a thousand years ago: *Fredegonde*, and *Brunichild*. Queens both, but the one a Kings daughter also; the other, ascended to that height, by her baseness, first; and then, cruelty. *Medea*, of old, was nothing to either of these, as set out by some of those times. If I were to judge, I should be much put to it, which was the worse of the two. For he that reads the acts of either by themselves,

will

will find so much, that he cannot but think, that either of them went to the height, of what can be thought *possible*. But however, though for their lives, never so well matched; yet in their deaths, great inequality may be observed: *Providentia, apud imperitos, laborante*: saith one, that writes of them: that is, *To the no small prejudice*, or *reproach of Gods providence*; but, *apud imperitos*, well added: that is, *with men that must know all the secrets of God, and the reasons of all his dispensations*, or else they will not believe, that there is a *God*, if men (such blind wretches, even the wisest that are, in comparison; acknowledged by divine *Aristotle*, but not by the *wits* and *wise* men of our time) could understand the reasons of all he doth. It is enough, that he hath been pleased to arm us against this kind of temptation, by his *Revealed Word*; so that to judge of men, by what hapneth unto them in this world, is little better, than absolute apostacy, from the right faith. But, as the story goes; *Fredegonde*, of whose wickedness we have more pregnant testimonies, than of the others; died in peace, and was happy in her Son, who made all *France* happy, as even any King did. *Brunichild* died much after the manner of *Ravailack*'s death, being tied to the tail of a wild Horse, who soon scattered her brains, and put her out of her pains; though the rest of her body was scattered afterwards, as bad as her brain, by the said wild Horse, piece after piece, in a great compass of ground, according as his wildness directed his course, over hedges, and ditches; over hills and dales? This in publick: too much, I think, for a *Queen*, and the daughter of a *King*; though some think, too little, for her *wickedness*. But this is not all. For before that, she was tortured three days in prison, with exquisite torments, the worst that could be invented, to

preserve

preserve her to publick *judgment*. And which is worst of all, this was the *judgment* upon her of a King, famous for many Princely parts; but, for none more, than for his goodness, and clemency, which must needs aggravate her guilt very much. Yet for all that, and the judgment of so many writers since, that have passed against her; some have been found, long ago, who whether of meer compassion, or some kind of *incredulity*, began to question, whether all that had been written of her was true; and since that, that famous *French* Antiquary, *Paschier*, in his learned *Recherches*, hath taken great pains to make her a perfect *Innocent*, if not a *Martyr*. He is so long upon it, that it requires a good time, to read him; much more, should any man attempt it, to confute him. I will leave it free to them that read him, to judge as they please. But I have some reasons, to incline me rather, to *Baronius* his censure of one, that had begun to justifie her, before *Paschier*; that he did but *laterem lavare*; that is, *wash a Blackmoor, to make him white*. Besides *Baronius* his authority; *Vignier*, not inferior, I dare say, to any in knowledge of Antiquity, and a very judicious man, makes her guilty. Strange indeed, that any woman should be so wicked, and cruel; or live so long, to act so much wickedness. But again, her death, and judgment, (her person, a *Queen*, and the daughter of a *King* considered) is so full of horror, that some have attempted to make a fable of that too, as well as of her wickedness, as altogether *incredible*. But I do not find that any body takes any notice of their attempt, against such publick evidences, whilest they have nothing to say for it, but because they think it *incredible*. Her wickedness, is another thing. One particular of her indictment is, that she had been the death of ten Kings. So is the indictment: but it must be understood, of some actual Kings,

partly;

partly; and partly, of other Princes of the Royal bloud, who might have been Kings. Of ten, such; hard to believe, even of a man: much more, of a woman: whom some still look upon, as *the weaker Sex*, and upon that score will think it an *uncharitable credulity*, to harbour such cruel thoughts of them. But in very truth; If a vertuous woman, that is chast, religious, discreet; especially, if of a gracious and beautiful aspect, (for that also, is the gift of God, and doth add much) may be compared to an *Angel*: to whom can one, that hath none of those good qualities, and is set upon wickednesſ; more fitly be compared, than to a *Devil*? And in that case, the more *Beautiful*, the arranter Devil. *Corruptio optimi, pessima*; Philosophers and Physicians say: and our late learned King *James*, of *Glorious memory*, (whom I had the happiness, more than once, when very young, to wait upon, and can truly say, that I never parted from him, but in great admiration of his learning and piety) by the authority of his judgment, which was excellent; and by sundry pregnant instances, hath taught us, that for that very reason, women, because the *weaker Sex*, therefore the apter they are, naturally, to be *cruel* and *revengeful*.

THUS, *truth* may be tossed up, and down, sometimes; though all this, that hath been mentioned, is nothing to the master-piece of our age: *Epicurus, his Saintship, and filial fear*, or *worship*. But tossed up and down (I say) sometimes, I deny it not. But they that will take the pains, prepared first with *humility*, (which to Saint *Augustine*, is all in all, in this great business) to dig for it, may find enough of it, to comfort them, *that they shall not loath to live*. *Nihil est tanti, nisi verum*, was the speech of a Heathen, upon what occasion, I shall not inquire: but a speech, in the most obvious sense, well worthy the mouth of a Christian: *What live we for, but*

to

to learn what is truth? Or if you will, somewhat more *Paraphrastically*: *What is the reward, proposed unto a rational Creature, of this, otherwise, miserable life; but truth*; or, *the knowledge of what is, truly, and really?* But should we have perfect *truth* here upon earth, we might say, What need of Heaven? For, where perfect *Truth* is, there God is.

I WOULD end in *Simplicius*, the Philosopher, his *Prayer*; an excellent *Prayer* to this purpose; and well would become a Christian *Litany*, but that it ends in a Verse of *Homer's*; though that, an excellent Verse also. But I will not do that Infidel, (for he lived some ages after *Christ*) so much honour. There is enough in *the Lords Prayer*; which all true Christians, I hope, say more than once, in a day. For it comprehends all that we can, or should, at least, wish. I shall willingly end in the commendation, or recommendation of that excellent *Prayer*; which, in the late confusions, was in no small danger, (the publick use of it) to be banished out of the land, had not the happy Restoration of our Gracious King, *Charles, the Second*; (whom God bless, and preserve) and by Him of the Church; happily prevented it.

FINIS.

ADDITIONS.

P*Age* 119. *line* 30. I should not, the wonders of thunder and lightning, as set out by *Seneca*, and others, well considered, make any great wonder of them,

Page 220. *line* 14. after these words, *Then his promiscuous*

miſcuous company did from one another. Add, That *Epicurus* notwithſtanding that ſpecious allegation, That *true pleaſure could not, or cannot be purchaſed, without a vertuous life*; did ſtill keep to his firſt, and fundamental aſſertion, that *the happineſs of man conſiſted in bodily pleaſure*; and that as they did explain themſelves, there's no ſuch contradiction between theſe two propoſitions, as many do phanſie; any man, that ſhall but read them; or read *Cicero*, or *Seneca*, to name no others, will eaſily underſtand. Beſides, their great and chiefeſt argument uſed by them to prove, that it is ſo, that *pleaſure* is the end, becauſe even children, aſſoon as they are born, and all other creatures, without any teaching, ſeek after pleaſure, (not *mental* certainly, but *bodily*) will eaſily evince. Add to this, their definition of *pleaſure*, wherein they placed *happineſs*, εὐσταθὲς σαρκὸς κατάστημα, *a conſtant well ſetled conſtitution of the fleſh*, or *body*; what can be more plain. But becauſe they maintained, or pretended at leaſt, that *ſuch a conſtant well ſetled conſtitution of the fleſh*, or *body*, without temperance and ſobriety, (who knows not, that from intemperance, riotouſneſs, *&c.* all, or moſt bodily diſeaſes do generally proceed) could not be attained, or maintained; nay, they would ſay, not without *innocency*, and a *good conſcience*, ſo far, (ſo they did explain themſelves) as may preſerve a man from fear of the laws, and publick animadverſions, and infamy, likewiſe: which things, in ordinary language, are commonly adſcribed unto vertue; therefore they alſo, to ſpeak as others did; ſometimes commended *vertue*, and a *good conſcience*; with many ſpecious words, it cannot be denied, and plauſible reaſons, but ſtill upon that account, and no otherwiſe. For they ſtill plainly maintained, that there was no difference between what was called *vertue*, and *vice*, but in conceit; and that a wiſe man would refrain

frain no manner of pleasure, or voluptuousness, but for the evil consequence to his bodily health: nor no manner of *injustice*, or *wickedness*, which his phansie did lead him unto, but for fear of the laws, and that he could never be *secure*, that it should not be known. This is acknowledged by *Diog. Laertius*, and by *Gassendus* also. By these fine devices and pretences, many were caught: so that, they that had a mind to it, or natural inclination, might live soberly, (and some did, certainly) and innocently, and yet profess themselves of their Sect. But others, (the far greater number, God knows) gladly entertaining what they were taught, and was inculcated unto them as a main principle, that, might but a man secure himself, that he should not be known, or shake off all fear of the laws, there was no difference between vertue and vice, in *nature*, but *in opinion* only; if they did rob, and kill; prostitute themselves to man or beast, to satisfie their lust, and the like; (promising themselves secrecy, as many are apt to do) what reason had they, by this doctrine, to think the worse of themselves for it?

There is a Letter of one of *Epicurus* his Whores, *&c.*

Page 224. *line*. 4. *&c.* Where I say; That *Gassendus* himself was an Atheist, really, *&c.* I desire it may be read: That *Gassendus* himself, though we have too much occasion to fear, that he hath made many, was an Atheist, I will not say; God forbid; neither of him, nor any other particular man, who doth not openly profess it. I will say more; I believe not. He hath commended *Piety* in others, as in that incomparable Patron of learning, noble *Peireskius*, whose life he hath learnedly set out. *Learnedly*, I am sure; but whether so *faithfully*, always, or every where: that is, whether he do not sometimes impose his thoughts and sentiments,

or

or happily, miſtakes, upon that worthy man; by what was objected to him whileſt he lived, by a very learned man, in *Paris*, *Jean Triſtan*, *Commentaires Hiſtoriques*, *Tome primier*, *page* 108. &c. we may very well doubt. He hath taken good pains, when many much nearer, and more concerned, (as now, God help, in theſe times, too many) were ſilent, to ſet out, and lay open, the horrible impieties, and blaſphemies, of *Robert Flud*, a *Welch*, or *English* (I know not which) *Chymiſt*: with a ſhew (if he did not afterwards fall from it) of much zeal, for the *Catholick Faith*. Laſtly, he hath written (though ſtill ſhewing too great deſire, and vainly endeavouring, to extenuate groſſeſt enormities) againſt ſome of *Epicurus* his opinions, very well. I ſaid therefore, I believe, not. But in diſcharge of my duty to God, *&c.*

Page 229. *line* 7. *and then content our ſelves with what every day doth afford.* Add, It is in the Greek, οὕτως ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν: which may alſo be tranſlated, *So, to take care* (ἀντέχεσθαι, for φροντίζειν) *of every days neceſſaries*: or, *What may be fit and requiſite from day to day.* Which will well agree with thoſe words of our daily Prayers, (which have troubled many) Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν, τὸν ἐπιούσιον, δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον. I do rather incline to this ſenſe, becauſe of the words that follow, διὸ φιλοσοφοῦντα δεῖ καὶ τούτων φροντίζειν, καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἡ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἔντονος ἐπιμέλεια παρεμβάλλοιτο: that is, *For theſe alſo* (daily neceſſaries) *muſt be taken care of, provided that the care of better things* (or *Philoſophy*) *go along*, (or, be not intermitted) *and thoſe no longer*, or *further cared for, than may ſtand with the vigorous purſuit of the former.* *Gaſſendus* is much miſtaken in the ſenſe of theſe words.. And ſo he is, in the ſenſe of thoſe, Ἐλάχιστον γὰρ καὶ τὸ ὀχληρὸν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου: which need not any correction. And yet worſe, in thoſe, Ἔτι καὶ τὸ ἀλ-

γεινὸν

χεῖρον τὸ τὸ δι' ἀδείαν, πολλὰς ἐπιόντος, &c. But besides these, there be other words in the same passage, produced by *Gassendus*, as the words of some *Epicuræan*, (which, I am sure, cannot be true of all he produceth) wherein I find my self as much grounded, as it seems he was. They that have the old translation of the book, may do well to have recourse unto it. But to return to those first words, which have given us this occasion; *Gassendus* by correcting, *&c.*

ERRATA: whether of the *Press*, or *Copy*.

P*Age* 2. *line* 21. *read*, grounded upon *D.* 9.5. The *Cont.* 18. examples 13.31. or app. 18.26. *Galeotus* 19.3. But to return to our *spiritual rose*: the rest. 22.20,21. nature, only 23.10. *Series* 32.1. *Augerius Ferr.* 37.30. writings 39.16. to have c. 40.4. those sup. 50.22. *Abstinens Consol.* 52.13,14. Sure I am, in m. 53.20. so much adm. 21. any, who n. 56.33. were comm. 57.7. Χαλαζοὶ. 58.13. goes on 59.19. particulars 60.25. *tempestatib.* 28. *Querolus* 62.33. in those d. 68.27. to the art. 30. τὸ δεῖνα 69.18. *Merl.* 71.22. *Odyss.* 74.3. irrupt. 29. So he. Bes. 84.1. in the firmament 87.13. So G. 16. of hair: others, (*trib.* 18. it must needs) of th. 89.29. how much m. 90.2. mistake, that it is not alw. 96.12. nor certain r. 99.6. But upon a pr. 100.3. at least 31. *feras* 102.10. otherwise: of w. 14. thing else; but 103.21. no where 104.2. hath m. aff. 110.18. after I rem. 112.7. *Cogn.* 114.2. (but not unjust) ag. 12. *leniend.* 116.29. refused 119.1. *Vella* 7. *vulgaria* 120.23. worn out 122.19. rugged. 125.3. where I.K. 129.4. *Medicam.* 5. *Archig.* 134.33. of what o. 136.33. in ext. 142,39. doth app. cease 144.23. The manner 145.26. of *Rome*, sent 146.21. ly, and n.h. of more) 150. *last l.* was commendable: w. 151.15. Civ. wars 153.6. no hard thing to a. 157.30. generation only: 160.10,16, &c. *Naudæus* 161.32. ocular 165.32. Empiricks 167.15. read it 169.20. would I 170.26. dealt with 174.17. *vine tend.* 175.30. *Pipinus* 176.4. *datum* 6. *corusc.* 18. *contrect.* 22. *dictu mir.* 25. *ma cum ut.* 28. *ut te* 178.16. Eue. 35. *Veron.* 179.9. played 180.23. *Levinus Lemn.* 184.5. *eget* 185.3. that are such: f. 186.18,19. So he, the m. 188.7. it may be true 8. true, as some learned men are of opinion, of an. 192.29. nev. heard 206.32. number 215.28. chapter. 217.2. can say 221.23. to speak of *Ep.* 224.15. this, that they m. 24. The R. therefore w. 28,29. futility of D. 225. *last l.* that w. 228.2. discommended 22. doth not in P. 233.28. *The* 234.22. or discret. 235.30. *Arion* 238.18. sent 241.34, 35. I have at this t. 250.7. no great account, or auth. 25. *quond.* 254.6. *Peucerus* 256.11. *Brennus* 258.10. besides 400. 260.24. besides w. 265. 22. and a *Pro.* 266. *last l.* storians, now extant 268.16. works of th. 271.5. where in th. 275.3. could not be h. 279.21. *Mærois* 285.19. teach others cont. 30. *Mad* 286.16. of better cr. 34. *Smyndir.* 289.9. which, since th. 10. rowes 26,27. had four thousand rowers, besides mariners 400. and s. 31. the num. 290.25. *Fiorouanti* 293.11. Will. T. 294.23. and see w. 298. 6. and when 291.31. forgo 300.17. or *Enth.* 304.18. to the wit a.

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